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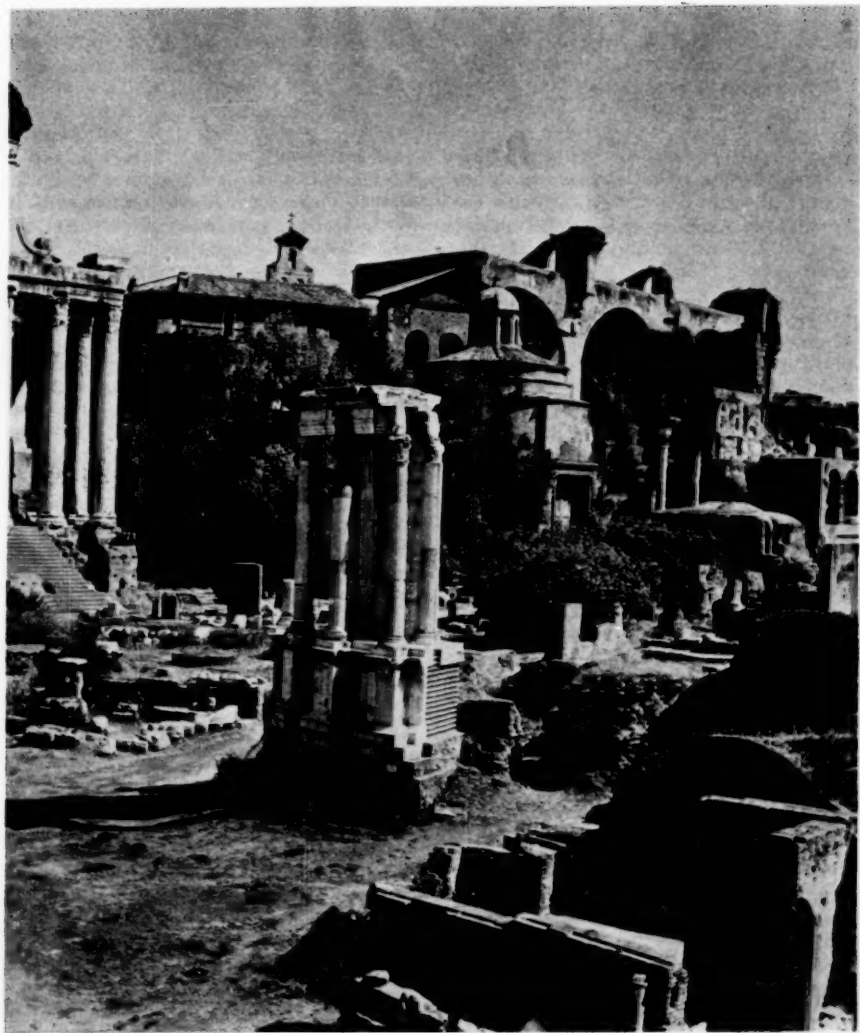
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Temple of Vesta, Forum Romanum

## THE PLEASURES OF PEDAGOGY

PAUL MacKENDRICK

As LATIN TEACHERS, we are lucky people, lucky in *whom* we teach, lucky in *what* we teach. We are witness to the virtues of election by the select. All our pupils are volunteers. We teach a "solid" subject to "exceptional" children, at a moment in the history of American education when the solid subject and the exceptional child are coming into their own again. We teach a subject whose content forms the core of the Western tradition, a subject that is orderly, logical, scientific (a magic word these days, but science is more than Sputnik). And the authors we teach, Caesar, Cicero and Vergil, offer us an opportunity to introduce to our students three themes of vital, contemporary importance, two political, one aesthetic: the liberal tradition in the West as represented, with reservations, by Caesar; the conservative tradition, as represented by Cicero; and the tradition of pattern in poetry as represented by Vergil: the concept of poetry as *planned*, as the operation of mind upon matter, as an imposition of order upon flux, by a poet who believes that a poet must be, not irresponsible, but morally, even politically involved in the world he lives in, without sacrificing a jot of craftsmanship in the process.

I have spoken about tradition, by which I mean not the kind which lays a dead hand upon creativity, but the kind which has a future, precisely because it has deep, life-giving roots in the past, the kind of tradition our sad world needs. And our traditional sub-

ject has enormous vitality: every day sees new discoveries, new interpretations, which can make our subject a perennially exciting adventure to teach. Everything that I shall speak of here is the achievement of international scholarship, French, Italian and American, within the last five years.

In grammar, there is the new approach via descriptive linguistics; in Caesar, the new approach to the *Gallie War* as political propaganda, a means of self-justification resorted to by the author in the face of jealous, reactionary enemies who would let the Roman Republic go to wrack and ruin rather than brook a rival or recognize a superior. To Cicero, there is the new approach which sees in him the spokesman of a new middle-of-the-road conservatism, substituting an aristocracy of intellect for one of pedigree and property, searching ever for a solution to the Republic's ills in the benign rule of a *princeps*, a philosopher-king. To Vergil, there is the new approach, so new as to be largely unpublished, which finds in the books of the *Aeneid* a series of patterns as carefully worked out, and as beautiful, as a Mozart symphony, wherein, however, the whole is conceived not merely as art for art's sake, but as something deeply ethical, involving a hero with a vocation compounded as all true vocations are—including ours—of burden and desire; a hero with a sense of duty, with a sense that *noblesse oblige*, that there is something in this world more important than happiness. These are lofty themes. They are permanent things. They are the things that are more excellent. To teach them is both privilege and pleasure.



WE ALL BEGIN with grammar. In this area I am convinced, as I am sure you are, of the importance of personality over method. A dull dog can make an equally unpalatable hash out of formal grammar or direct method. A bright teacher can invest the sequence of tenses with all the fascination that comes from watching logical minds at work, as in a game of chess, or can conduct a pattern practice so that the student feels the increase in mastery, as in learning a musical instrument or an exciting new sport.

And how fortunate we are to have a choice of methods! Most of us were brought up on formal grammar and teach as we were taught. There is a future in this tradition, because it has a past, a past that goes back to Aristotle's logic, and to the great teachers of antiquity who saw grammar as a magnificent instrument for expressing thought with clarity, with precision, like the organ music of Bach; as, like poetry, an imposition of mind upon matter, of order upon flux. The lively teacher of the traditional method can transmit to students the sense of inevitability in the way declensions and conjugations work, the neatness of it, the subtlety of the subjunctive, the ingenuity of ablatives absolute, the splendor of periodic sentences, so that a sentence of Caesar, with a series of participles and a verb at the end, can be expounded, as someone has said, as like the technique of a small boy who first makes (in the ablative absolute) all sorts of excuses, and then admits (in the main verb) that he has broken the window.

For the more adventurous (or even for conservatives with intellectual curiosity) there is the exciting new method of descriptive linguistics, associated in American Latin teaching with the name of Waldo Sweet.<sup>1</sup> This begins with a hard saying: that the striking thing about Latin is not its likeness but its unlikeness to English, the difference between a highly-inflected language with many "signals" and a loosely constructed one with few. We have all had

the experience of telling students, "You will find no trouble with Latin: it's just like English," and discovering two or four years later that those same students still cannot translate at sight, because they persist in regarding Latin as a form of English curiously misspelled, in which not word endings but word order gives the clue to the meaning. The new method continues with the breaking of all sorts of stereotypes, with the use of strange new terms like morpheme and phoneme; it is not for weaklings. But Latin teachers have never been weaklings; they are what they are because they accepted a challenge; so many of you will find, and so will your students, that there is something to be said for learning declensions and conjugations horizontally, for pattern practice, for "overlearning" with tapes and records, for conversational Latin and direct method, which is not so new after all, but as old as Erasmus, who taught Latin so in 1518. If, as I think we must, we introduce Latin in the grades, it is by this method that it will be most fruitfully taught (though perhaps we shall best keep morphemes out of our conversations with eight-year-olds). Finally, students can be introduced by this method to the wealth of pre- and post-classical Latin, to Plautus and the *Distichs* of Cato and Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*.

BUT FOR THE MOMENT let us concentrate on the world of wealth there is in Caesar, Cicero and Vergil. Caesar first. Teachers I have asked see no reason why the *Gallic War* should not be taught to high-school sophomores for what it is: not simply a series of communiqués about military campaigns, but a piece of political self-justification,<sup>2</sup> made necessary, in Caesar's judgment, by some facts of political life in the late Republic which it is important and exciting to induce sophomores to understand, since, among other reasons, the same facts obtain in the political life of most of the world today, with particular analogies in the dictatorships of Spain and Spanish

America, and in the France of De Gaulle. The facts are that at the moment of Caesar's departure for Gaul constitutional government in Rome had completely broken down. Bribery in elections, rioting in the streets, manipulation of religion for political purposes were the order of the day. In the naked struggle for power to which politics was reduced, victory would go to the *caudillo*, the man on horseback with a private army behind him. The *Gallic War* should be taught as a chapter in Caesar's struggle for political power, a prelude to the war to the death he was to fight with Pompey. That war forged for Caesar a veteran army; it won for him a treasure of gold. Caesar, like Franklin Roosevelt a born aristocrat, might have chosen the conservative political tradition that went back through Sulla to the Scipios. But, like Franklin Roosevelt again, he chose to be what his enemies might have called a traitor to his class. It was the tragedy of the Roman Republic that the aristocrat who was born to lead the conservative senatorial faction was forced to choose instead the liberal tradition that went back through his uncle Marius to the Gracchi, and thus well-nigh to destroy the senatorial faction, whose remnant then, on the Ides of March, destroyed him. It is important to have our students understand that Caesar was a liberal by calculation, not conviction. Seeing that the conservative tradition was bankrupt, he chose the left, not because he believed in it, but because he saw that it would bring him to power. And so we see him sponsoring left-wing legislation: redistribution of land, reduction of debt, citizenship for Cisalpine Gaul (where his best recruits came from). But on the other hand he wasted no time on sentimentality over the Roman mob: he drastically reduced the number of recipients of free grain, and his political procedures were high-handed, dictatorial, regal even; after the Civil War he rammed legislation through a subservient rubber-stamp Senate, and dealt with the people through tribunes who were his creatures.

Throughout the Gallic campaigns he had to cope with sniping from the right wing. Many of his legates and other officers were or became his enemies: of 24 whose names he records we know the sympathies of 21; of these, six belonged outright to the opposition; six more, including the trusty Labienus, eventually went over to Pompey's side; only nine were wholeheartedly for Caesar. Cato proposed a senatorial investigation of Caesar's conduct of the German campaign, and openly asserted that the *imperator* should be handed over to the enemy. In these circumstances it is small wonder that the *Gallic War* is a piece of astute political propaganda, and it is great fun to lead students to see the devices by which Caesar propagates his point of view, and the impression of Caesar the propaganda is intended to convey. For example, in the *Gallic War* and the *Civil War* together, Caesar wrote his own name 775 times; if the *Gallic War* is translated into the first person instead of the third,<sup>3</sup> the egotism comes out with redoubled force. Again students will note that when Caesar is recounting his own successes, he uses his own name; the failures are attributed to *nostri*, *Romani*, *milites*, *legati*, or *fortuna*. (So too Napoleon reported his victories with "je," his defeats with "nous.") Caesar's constant use of his own name in the nominative makes him seem the perpetual prime mover. He presents the successive campaigns as motivated by the strategic necessities of military defense, whereas in fact he deliberately provoked them in his ambition for wealth and power. The speeches he puts into the mouths of adversaries are not merely complicated examples of indirect statement; they will be found to contain as often as not lavish praise of Caesar. Setbacks, by the ingenious use of ablatives absolute to which I have already referred, are made to look inevitable or unimportant; the services of *legati* are minimized. In the end, the picture emerging of Caesar—and it

is not untrue—is of a paragon of *scientia rei militaris*, *labor*, *fortitudo*, *industria*, *celeritas*, *virtus*, *auctoritas*, *felicitas*. Essentially, as students can be led to see, the *Gallic War* is a work of fiction; the facts are served up not raw but cooked: twisted, invented, re-colored, faked up, flavored, seasoned. It is good for students to learn early that if they see it in a book it is not necessarily so. But they must see too that Caesar is not the less great for being adroit with words, that he was spectacularly, steadily, overwhelmingly successful; he was a brilliant general who fought and won two great wars, a sound administrator who established a great new province, an intelligent statesman who reorganized a government, and finally, for better or worse, a one-man ruler who founded the Roman Empire.

NEXT, CICERO. The excitement of teaching him stems from his two major claims upon our students' attention: as a man whose rise to the consulship contains some of the stirring elements of an American success-story, and as the man who above all others in the West popularized the middle-of-the-road conservatism under which our country is today, theoretically, governed. Our standard textbook selections suggest the one but not the other; fortunately, texts to illustrate the conservative theme exist,<sup>4</sup> and it is no small part of the excitement of our vital field to experiment with new selections, including the letters and the political essays, and to teach them from a new point of view.

Cicero's success-story begins from a point higher up the ladder than a Horatio Alger hero's: his father was a rich landowner from Arpinum, who was able to give his son the best education that money could buy. But Cicero was without pedigree or prestige as the right-wing conservatives understood these terms. None of his ancestors had held the consulship, and he never built up a private army. But he made up in industry and intelligence what he lacked

in pedigree and prestige: by his diligence in amassing evidence against the corrupt provincial governor Verres he gained the kind of reputation which young Tom Dewey earned as a crusader against crime in New York, and by his adroit defenses of clients from the municipal towns of Italy (as in *For Cluentius*) he built up a host of loyal supporters who served him well as long as the Roman Republic was governed by due process of law.

The Catilinarian conspiracy was the turning point. Cicero was a conservative all his life long, but his shabby treatment by the die-hard right wing after he had executed the Catilinarians without trial led him to rethink his premises, and after his return from the exile from which the right had not lifted a hand to save him, he became, in speeches and in philosophical works, the spokesman for a new kind of conservatism based not on blue blood and broad acres, but on brains.

This development is what it is fun to follow, and to do so requires teaching novel texts: *For Sestius*, *On the Republic*, *On the Consular Provinces*, *For Marcellus*, *On Duty*, *On the Laws*. In these works, Cicero issued a clarion call for new recruits for the new, intellectualized conservatism, found a basis for it in Greek political theory, for a season sought in Caesar the true leader of the cause (the *princeps* or philosopher-king), insisted on the importance of *noblesse oblige*, and on the existence of and the connection between a hierarchy in nature and one in the state, with aristocrats at the top of each with a duty to control popular vagaries and rule for the common good, though without consulting the common man on the subject.

Rome had once had a ruling class with a tradition of participating in politics. Its scions were expected to go into government, to show a social conscience, and not to shame their ancestors. Cicero proposes a return to and an intellectualizing of this tradition. He skilfully appeals (in *For Ses-*

tius) to large segments of the population, especially small-town civic leaders, country squires and the young, to regard their interests as identical with those of the intellectual élite: the Brain Trust will do the hard thinking and leave the rest free for business as usual.<sup>5</sup> Checking ballots, Cicero says in *On the Laws*, will quickly reveal to a vigilant Brain-Truster which citizens are failing to appreciate their blessings. It is challenging to lead the student to see how sharply these notions diverge from those of American democracy: Cicero does not trust the people to define their own interest. He leaves no scope—the Roman Republic left none—for popular initiative. The saving grace is the idea (in *On Duty*) that the Brain-Trusts forfeit their privilege when they cease to govern intelligently in the people's interest.

Cicero is the world's most eloquent spokesman for enlightened conservatism: it is a pity that modern Republican party leaders read him so little. He wants security for business, a sound economy based on an honest imperialism, but he is not without political ambition of his own. His search for a *princeps*, an initiator of public policy, a reformer who will direct the New Conservatism, excludes both extremes, the defective old guard and the excessive new nabobs. He considers and rejects Pompey as a bumbler, Caesar as overambitious: there remains himself. It is ironic that when the *princeps* finally came he was Octavian-Augustus, Cicero's murderer. Cicero never found a *princeps* and never became one, but his ideas bore fruit in the man who did.

These ideas stem from the Greek view of man as a rational animal, whose reason places him high in the hierarchy of nature, which rises from inanimate things through animals to Man, to Man Thinking, to God. Man Thinking is the *princeps*. His exalted place in Nature's order justifies the high place reserved for him in the State by the New Conservatism. Neither the unreconstructed old oligarchy of pedigree nor the unin-

telligent plebs has so high a place in nature as the new, intellectual *princeps*; therefore neither deserves so high a place in the state. The reformed Republic will be the *princeps'* directive intelligence in action. Cicero's vision of one universal State is the vision of the Roman Empire reformed by directive intelligence. The vision was in part realized by Augustus' administrative reforms in the Roman provinces; it might be realized in our own time by directive intelligences in the United Nations. It is something new<sup>6</sup> and exciting to teach these fundamental Western political concepts to high-school juniors. It is the best kind of "education for citizenship," and I cannot believe that it is beyond their capacity.

AND THEN VERGIL. He deserves his place at the top of the hierarchy of our teaching, as critics have come to see more and more in recent years. By the time high-school students have become seniors, they are mature enough to appreciate his maturity, perhaps even to understand his message: that by self-discipline, by rigorous subordination of our desires to higher ends, we may achieve a Paradise within us, happier far than any Adam lost when he lost Eden. The skilled teacher will be able to bring his students to see, as a French scholar has wisely remarked, that "Aeneas, a city in flames behind him, his burden his family and his gods, is universal history; he is ourselves."<sup>7</sup>

That the *Aeneid* is a political poem has long been recognized. One can demonstrate to the satisfaction of a class that in a certain sense Aeneas, the burden-bearer, is meant to symbolize Augustus; Achates, the faithful companion, Agrippa; Dido, the passionate Oriental, Cleopatra; Turnus, the excessive one, Mark Antony; Drances, the empty orator, Cicero. And in this connection it is interesting to vary one's reading by including selections from the most Roman books, the last six: for example, Aeneas at the site of Rome, the tragic heroism of Nisus and Euryalus, the exploits of the warrior-maid Ca-

milla, the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus.

But the most rewarding new approach to the *Aeneid* is from the point of view of form;<sup>8</sup> e.g., to let the Socratic method allow the student to convince himself that the odd-numbered books are epic in content, the even ones tragic; that the themes enumerated in Book I, the wrath of Juno, the bearing of burdens, storm, *furor*, *sedition*, are the leit-motifs of the entire poem.

Newest and most fascinating of all is the analysis of the structure of individual books. Scholars have known for a dozen years that the *Eclogues* are carefully patterned, both in relation to one another and each in itself; e.g., the scheme of *Eclogue 4* is built up on multiples of seven: an introduction of three lines balanced by a conclusion of four, and on either side of a central block of 28 lines two smaller blocks of seven each. But the application of this approach to the *Aeneid* is so new as to be yet unpublished, and I know from experience that students find it mightily absorbing.

Book 4 is a good example. It is a tragedy in five acts: love, a plot to frustrate that love, union, separation, death, framed within an introduction of five lines and a conclusion of fourteen. In Act I (lines 6-89) we see Dido *furens* in her love; in Act II (90-128) the plot of Venus and of Juno; in Act III (129-72) the *connubium* of Dido and Aeneas. There follows a central core, bipartite, describing Rumor painted full of tongues (173-218), and Jupiter's command that Aeneas leave (219-95). Aeneas' obedience may be a personal tragedy for him and for Dido, but out of that suffering is wrought a greater good: the foundation of Rome. Jupiter's command motivates Act IV, the separation of Aeneas and Dido (296-449), and Act V, in two scenes: Dido plotting her own death (450-583) and Dido *furens* at the end (584-629). The connections and contrasts between Acts I and V, ii; II and V, i; III and IV are underlined by the skilful repetition of vocabulary and motifs: e.g., in Acts I

and V, ii the dawn of a day of love contrasts with the dawn of a day of death; there is the wound of love versus the wound of death, the *furor* of passion versus the *furor* of a woman bent upon suicide; the burning of passion versus the burning of the funeral pyre, the doe transfixed by an arrow versus Dido transfixed by Aeneas' sword. This is not the time or the place for much detailed analysis: the fun is for teacher and student to find the parallels, contrasts and patterns for themselves, not only in Book 4, but in all the others. So in Book I the central line is Aeneas' self-revelation to his mother Venus, the founder of the family of Augustus the temple-restorer: *sum pius Aeneas*; the central fifteen lines are full of theme-words: *Troia antiqua, pius, fama, labor, Italia, genus, fata, peragro, dolor*; and Dido's new city rises like an Augustan colony, the line of its walls traced by a furrow: an arx, ambitious buildings, a city plan. In Book 8 the description of Aeneas' shield is of two concentric circles of four panels each, surrounding a central boss. The central boss represents Octavian's triumph after Actium; the panels describe eight lucky Roman escapes, four under the kings, four under the Republic; the first pair has to do with animals, the second with women, the third with traitors, the fourth with water. The eighth is Actium, the luckiest escape of all.<sup>9</sup>

There is in fact no end to the poet's ingenuity, nor to the almost equal ingenuity that can be profitably expended by teacher and student in analyzing it. Such an analysis, it seems to me, is close to a teacher's ideal: it inculcates an admiration for order, for the poetic mind at its age-old work of imposing pattern upon flux. It should breed an impatience with disorder and shoddiness, an insistence upon the best, which should shape the student's reading habits forever. And all this in a poem which is not merely mathematics, not merely propaganda, but a work of consummate art written by a poet with a high moral purpose, who ad-



mires chivalry but hates war, who exalts the tradition of the great days of the Roman Republic but despises its decadence, who has created in Aeneas a hero not out of the mold of mawkish romance but out of mature classicism: a man who puts others before self, his quest and his duty before the satisfaction of his own desires. *Italiam non sponte sequor*, he tells Dido, and thereby sets the pattern of self-denial which made the Republic great. To meet and to come to know such a man is a maturing experience, one that makes a fitting climax both for teacher and for student.

HERE THEN is the sure pleasure. They add up to the satisfaction and the high character of the young people who are brought to the superiority of the language, the order, in liberal and conservative, and in music—of these. And the teacher has about nothing of the sort. "Only the feet dance; only the lips sing." The Latin is limp prose, only a touch of the style of Caesar, in the roll-overs of Cicero, in the majestic hexameters of Vergil, is a living thing. It lives on in whatever language men strive for simplicity, or high seriousness, or noble cadence. The stuff of what we teach is shot through, not with classical restraint, but with controlled excitement, the excitement of a Caesar fired with ambition to assail inefficiency, to attack privilege, to unify a world; of a Cicero burning to reform a corrupt aristocracy, to bring peace with honor, to make philosophers of kings; of a Vergil eager to turn swords into plowshares, to hymn the gentlest virtues, to hail a man he sincerely believed to be the Prince of Peace. These are still high ideals, though more often praised than practised. They were never more worth proselytizing for than in our own troubled time. There are in the recognition of these ideals,

and the resolve to put them into practice here and now, deeper and more personal satisfactions than in setting up a mechanical computer or sending a rocket to the moon. This is the language we teach, these are the men whose works we humbly strive to interpret. To expound these ideals, and the works that embody them, to intelligent, willing students is a high privilege. The sense that this is so produces, for you and for me, the deepest pleasures of our pedagogy.

University of Wisconsin

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Waldo E. Sweet, *Latin: A Structural Approach* (Ann Arbor, 1957); H. A. Gleason, Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics* (New York, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> M. Rambaud, *L'Art de la Déformation historique dans les Commentaires de César* (Paris, 1953); reviews in *Gnomon* 20 (1954) 527-33 (Collins); *AJP* 76 (1955) 201-203 (Salmon); *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 45 (1955) 161-64 (Balsdon); *Rev. Études Anc.* 57 (1955) 388-91 (Carcopino); *CP* 50 (1955) 142-46 (Bruère). *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, 4 (1957), a special series of articles by distinguished English and American scholars on the 2000th anniversary of the Ides of March: J. M. C. Toynbee, "Portraits of Julius Caesar," 2-9; L. R. Taylor, "The Rise of Julius Caesar," 10-18; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "The Veracity of Caesar," 19-28; P. J. Cuff, "Caesar the Soldier," 29-35; A. N. Sherwin-White, "Caesar as an Imperialist," 36-45; R. A. G. Carson, "Caesar and the Monarchy," 46-53; R. E. Smith, "The Conspiracy and the Conspirators," 58-70; G. E. F. Chilver, "The Aftermath of Caesar," 71-77.

<sup>3</sup> J. Warrington, translation of *Gallie War in first person*, Everyman Series (New York, 1953).

<sup>4</sup> *CW* 52 (1958) 198.

<sup>5</sup> P. MacKendrick, *The Roman Mind at Work* (Princeton, 1958) ch. 8, "Conservatism Revisited," with accompanying selections from the sources.

<sup>6</sup> E. Lepore, *Il princeps ciceroniano e gli ideali politici della tarda repubblica* (Naples, 1954).

<sup>7</sup> J. Perret, *Virgile* (Paris, 1952) p. 152.

<sup>8</sup> G. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 1-15; "Recent Work on Vergil," *CW* 51 (1958) 89-92, 116-17, 123-28, 151-59, 185-93, 228-35; especially 123 (on pattern in the *Eclogues*), 151 (on V. Pöschl's *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (Innsbruck, 1950)), 185-86 (on the structure of the *Aeneid*). A new and unhackneyed textbook is B. Tilly's *Camilla* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956).

<sup>9</sup> The analysis of *Aen.* 4 was made in 1957 for a University of Wisconsin seminar on Vergil by Dr. Eugene Bushala. The insights into Book 1 were made for the same seminar by Julia Allis. The subtleties of Aeneas' shield in Book 8 were refined by students in the 1958 Summer Session of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome.

## OID'S THEME OF CHANGE

ROY ARTHUR SWANSON

TO CLAIM that the structure of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has any other basis than the theme of change is to impugn the poet's artistic integrity. His opening sentence, so often suffering hypallagastic realignment in translation, is explicit: *In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas/ corpora*. "I intend to speak of forms changed into new entities."

Miss M. Marjorie Crump, in her dissertation (*The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid* [Oxford, 1931]), will not accept change as the "true basis of the construction" (pp. 197-98):

It is true that a metamorphosis of some kind is introduced in connection with each long story and that the minor incidents all deal with the same subject; but often the change is a mere accessory or pendant to a long and elaborate tale which is quite independent of any such incident. Thus the story of Phaethon contains no metamorphosis and is complete without the incidents of Phaethon's sisters and Cynus, which are added at the end as a kind of excuse for including the story at all. So too the story of Meleager ends with a short paragraph describing the metamorphosis of his sisters.

Miss Crump does not define metamorphosis, but it is clear that she would limit it. Phaethon's ride is responsible for the metamorphoses of the Ethiopians into blacks and Libya into a desert. Apparently Miss Crump looks upon these as partial changes only and would label as metamorphoses no changes less complete than those of humans into trees or swans. She would be obliged then to assert that the Pyramus and Thisbe story contains no metamorphosis, since the change of white mulberries into red is merely chromatic and not a complete change of form. If the transformation of Meleager's sisters, a natural enough sequel to the story of Meleager, is an excuse for including that story, the necessity for such an excuse surely stresses the importance of Ovid's theme: some change is suggested by, related to, or consequent upon every event. Mourning, for instance, is a participation in death. Complete mourning, true *compassio*, approaches complete participation, or loss of identity. This is what happens



to Cynus and the sisters of Phaethon and Meleager.

Ovid's motive is the same as that of most mythographers today: to present a collection of largely mythical stories in a sequential and, therefore, interesting pattern. Ovid is artistically more disciplined, however. He has sought a common denominator for his stories, some of which are quasi-historical. He has made each of his major selections outline a cause, whose effect is change. His definition of change is clear: forms made over into new (or strange, or unusual) entities. The black Ethiopians and the red mulberries are new because they are not the same as they were before. This general definition embraces such varied changes as Io into a heifer, the naive and defenseless virgin Proserpina into the powerful queen of the Underworld, Semele into ashes, Pentheus into a boar (in the eyes of his mother), Canens into air, Achilles into dust, which is the metamorphosis we all experience, or Aeneas into a god. Ovid's numerous incidental allusions to metamorphosis help to universalize the phenomenon and to depict it as common to every object of man's thought. If the Pythagorean essay in Book 15 does nothing else, it makes this clear.

Ovid's sequence is an increment to his discipline. He invokes the Muses to breathe upon his efforts and draw forth a *perpetuum carmen* from the beginning of the world to his own times. The *carmen* is rendered *perpetuum* by transitional passages. And Ovid does move from the beginning of the world to his own times; but he moves sequentially, not chronologically. Miss Crump complains that "the chronology is difficult to follow and in places breaks down." But the mythographer is not subject to the rules of the historian, novelist, or even epic poet. Ovid does not say *deducite in ordine*. He moves

*ab origine mundi/ ad mea . . . tempora* through sequences of change, not sequences of time. After all, change is not a product of time; it is the other way around: time is an abstraction deduced from change. Ovid gets to his destination by *changing* his stories and topics with unobtrusive transitions.

The stories and topics suffer internal or structural change by being cast into epyllionic and chiasmic sequences. Miss Crump, again, names the epyllion as the true basis of the poem's structure (pp. 203-204):

There are over fifty stories of considerable, though varying, length, which constitute the true material of the poem; and it is to the arrangement and treatment of these that we must look, in order to arrive at a true conception of the construction of the whole.

Each of these stories is a complete epyllion. . . .

If these epyllia are examined in their relation to one another, it will be observed that there is a definite and somewhat complex arrangement, which sometimes coincides with, and sometimes is independent of, the chronological idea.

Rather than subordinate change and continuity to the epyllia, it is, I think, safer to take the artist at his word and accept change as the structural base and the epyllia as exemplifications of it, thereby subordinate to it.

A schematic outline of the first two books of the *Metamorphoses* will serve sufficiently to illustrate Ovid's theme of change in both its topical and stylistic aspects. The following schema is arbitrary, to be sure, and is based upon the controversial assumption that Ovid did in fact labor over epyllionic and chiasmic sequences. What should not be subject to controversy, however, is the fact that Ovid considered the changes listed here as veritable changes. [ $>$  = is changed to, or becomes;  $<$  = is formed from.]

BOOK ONE

	Lines
Invocation	1-4
The Creation: chaos > order: the 4 elements	5-44, 52-56
the 5 zones	45-51
the 4 winds	57-68
animals and man (first creation of man)	69-88
Human morals deteriorating: the 4 ages	89-150
Gigantomachia: Giants' blood > men (second creation of man)	151-162
Council of Gods	163-206
Human morals deteriorated: Lycaon > wolf	207-243
Council of Gods	244-252
The Flood: terrestrial order > chaos	253-312
Deucalion and Pyrrha: stones > men (third creation of man)	313-415
Python < slime. Apollo slays python.	416-451
Daphne > laurel. Apollo loses Daphne.	452-567
Io > white heifer	568-621
Argus is placed in charge of Io.	622-667
Syrinx > reed	668-712
Argus is slain: eyes of Argus > eyes of peacock's tail	713-723
Io < white heifer	723-746
Epaphus: transition to Phaethon story	747-779

The main action of each major chiastic sequence is dominated by Jupiter (Gigantomachia, Flood; Io's victimization). Apollo is dominant in the action of the triptych's central panel.

## BOOK TWO

	Lines
Phaethon: sun-chariot: Ethiopians > black; Libya > desert	1-332
Clymene, mother of Phaethon, mourns his death.	333-339
Heliades, mourning Phaethon, > poplar trees	340-366
Cycnus, mourning Phaethon, > swan	367-380
Apollo, father of Phaethon, mourns his death.	381-393
Apollo: sun-chariot	394-400
Callisto > bear	401-495
Callisto and Arcas > stars	496-530
Apollo: raven once white	531-541
Apollo loves Coronis.	542-547
Raven, flying to Apollo to expose Coronis, meets crow, who speaks of	547-552
Erichthonius' birth (crow was Minerva's bird), herself suffering change from maiden to crow, and	552-568 569-588
Nyctimene's change into a nightbird (succeeds crow as Minerva's bird).	589-595
Raven disregards crow's warning.	596-599
Apollo kills Coronis: birth of Aesculapius	600-611
Apollo: raven > black	612-632
Ocyrhoe > horse	633-675
Battus > stone	676-707
Mercury in flight, loves Herse.	708-736
Aglauros is detested by Minerva.	737-759
Invidia (enlisted by Minerva)	760-811
Aglauros > black statue	812-832
Mercury in flight to heaven and Jupiter	833-842
Europa: Jupiter > white bull; transition to Cadmus story	843-875

Here, two sections of Apollo-dominant (the Phaethon and Coronis stories) include a central panel of Jupiter-dominant (the Callisto story). This scheme is apparent:

I	II
Jupiter	Apollo
Apollo	Jupiter
Jupiter	Apollo

The counterpoint of chiasmic and anaphoric sequences seems more the result of design than chance. And sequences such as this are the keys to the movement, to the *perpetuum carmen*. Ovid presents any number of changes, or examples of change, in changing and transitional sequences. The chiasmic and anaphoric patterns must afford thematic variations (change and recurrence) which attune the style and structure of the work to its subject. In his opening sentence Ovid, besides stating the theme of change explicitly, also ties style to theme by casting the statement in linear chiasmus (*nova . . . mutatas . . . formas . . . corpora*). Chiasmus, anaphora and the "epyllion" are structural metamorphoses.

There appear to be three distinct "epyllia" in Book 2: the Phaethon story, the Apollo-Coronis story and the Mercury-Aglauros story, with just the suggestion that there is a thread of thematic continuity in blackness (Ethiopians > black, raven > black, Aglauros

> black). This, along with two pairs of unobtrusive transitional passages (Callisto and Arcas; Ocyrhoe and Battus), helps to tie the three stories together. An extended triptych becomes apparent, then, when we note that the variations on the theme of blackness are parenthesized by variations on the theme of whiteness. Our chromatic triptych is as follows:

- Io > white heifer
- Ethiopians > black
- Raven > black
- Aglauros > black (statue)
- Jupiter > white bull

Similar patterns are repeated and elaborated throughout the fifteen books. The figure of Cadmus, for instance, frames the next movement of the *carmen* (Book 3. 1 — Book 4. 603). The analysis of all these patterns is the subject of another paper, now in preparation. The point to submit at present is that the patterns, or sequences, defined by chiasmic or epyllionic structure, have protean characteristics with respect to topics and stories. These characteristics are stylistic implements to Ovid's theme of change.

University of Minnesota

# THE FORUM

editor MARGARET M. FORBES

## ADVANCED PLACEMENT PROGRAM

OF INTEREST to Latin teachers is the College Board's Advanced Placement Program, in operation since 1954. This is offered "in the interest of able students of secondary schools to enable these students to undertake work commensurate with their abilities, and of colleges which welcome freshmen who are ready for advanced courses.

"The Advanced Placement Program provides descriptions of college-level courses to be given in schools and prepares examinations based on these courses. Colleges, in turn, consider for credit and advanced placement students who have taken the courses and examinations. The program is thus an instrument of cooperation which extends the educational opportunities available to able and ambitious students by coordinating effectively their work in school and college.

"In schools which cannot provide special courses, students may do college-level work through individual instruction of a tutorial nature in connection with a regular course.

"There are examinations in twelve subjects: English Composition, English Literature, French, German, Latin, Spanish, American History, European History, Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, and Physics. Prepared by committees of five teachers — three from colleges and two from secondary schools — the examinations last for three hours. Essay questions prevail, supplemented by objective test questions in History, Mathematics, and the sciences. In each modern language examination there is a half-hour listening comprehension section.

"In the fall the schools are circularized to find out whether they will have students taking the Advanced Placement Examinations and how many students they will have in the various subjects. This in itself is not a registration procedure." In 1958 students registered for the examinations between February and April. The examinations were given early in May at centers set up throughout the country.

In 1954, 532 students from 18 schools took 959 examinations and entered 94 colleges; in 1957, 2068 students from 212 schools took

3772 examinations and entered 201 colleges. The growth of the program has been phenomenal.

In addition to the opportunities offered able students, are those given the able secondary-school teachers, by the attention directed to subject matter and to the teaching of this subject matter.

In June of 1958 about 125 people, representing as many colleges and secondary schools, both public and private, met at Toledo, Ohio, for a conference upon the Advanced Placement Program in Foreign Languages. This conference was sponsored jointly by the College Entrance Examination Board and the University of Toledo. The following topics were discussed in the various language sections: The Advanced Placement Syllabus; Preparation and Content of the Examination; Results of the Reading Sessions; Advanced Placement Courses at the Secondary Level; College Evaluation of Advanced Placement Candidates.

We are indebted to John Heller, Chairman of the University of Illinois Classics Department for material bearing on the summer conference, and suggest that our readers note (and act upon) the implications of his statement:

"I do think this program for Advanced Placement, which is growing by leaps and bounds, has an important bearing on Latin in the schools, especially in encouraging more classes and higher quality in the third and fourth years."

Information on the program may be obtained from: Director, Advanced Placement Program, College Entrance Examination Board, 425 West 117th Street, New York 27, New York.

And, as a final word, The Forum will welcome for publication, brief papers from teachers who are now participating in this program. Are you teaching candidates in a separate group? How are your candidates selected? How many of them have received college credit for successful performance in examinations, and how many, advanced standing? What adjustments, if any, have been made in your teaching load, to enable you to handle this program?

## LATIN WEEK

DONNIS MARTIN writes from El Dorado Springs, Missouri, "Last fall you published a list of the mimeographed material prepared by the Latin Week Committee (*C.J.*, October, 1957). To the surprise of all members of this committee we began receiving orders almost immediately from all parts of the U.S.—and one member had an order from England. Our material will be the same this year, with one addition, a pamphlet on Programs for Latin Week."

The state chairmen in charge of Latin Week have the arduous task of judging the contributions from their state schools and of designating awards. This is a project which has grown to considerable dimensions through the years, and has contributed significantly to the enrichment of the Latin programs in many schools. A list of those responsible for this year's awards: H. R. Butts, Birmingham-Southern College; Mrs. Ruby Wilson, Southwest Junior High School, Little Rock, Ark.; Mrs. Jim Cavan, Thomaston, Ga.; Susan Greer, Streator, Ill.; Gertrude Johnson, Logansport, Ind.; Mrs. H. M. Whitehead, Mt. Sterling, Ky.; Mrs. Hugh Hyman, Monroe, La.; James Dunlap, University of Michigan; Jessie H. Branam, Trenton, Mo.; Elizabeth Conn, Clarksdale, Miss.; Charles Henderson, University of North Carolina; O. C. Perry, Peabody College for Teachers; Lucy Whitsel, Marshall College; Theodora Taras, La Crosse, Wis.

## LATIN WEEK AWARDS

FOR THE FOURTH consecutive year, the Latin Week Committee of CAMWS has offered a prize in each state of the Association for the best report on a Latin Week celebration. The prize, *Roman Life* by Mary Johnston, was awarded to each of the fourteen schools whose Latin teachers were: Mrs. Olivia Fines, Tuscaloosa High School, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Mrs. T. J. Collier, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Dorothy Espy, Hapeville, Ga.; Ruth Tapper, Cuba, Ill.; Vivian Morlock, Bosse High School, Evansville, Ind.; Mrs. James Wimpy, Glasgow, Ky.; Mrs. Margaret Haynes, Istrouma High School, Baton Rouge, La.; Mrs. Frieda Madaus, Hartford, Mich.; Sister Patrick Joseph, Incarnate Word Academy, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Allie S. Vance, West Point, Miss.; Mrs. A. F. Nichols, Roxboro, N.C.; Dorothy Dickerson, Red Bank High School, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Katherine Metzner, Linsly Military Insti-

tute, Wheeling, W. Va.; Mrs. Aspen Ede, Mondovi, Wis.

## THE MECHANICS OF HONORS

NOW THAT SCHOLARSHIP is becoming slightly more respectable in some of the public high schools, we suggest that all awards for pupil excellence in Latin be sent directly to the principal of the high school concerned (rather than to the pupil or the teacher), with a request for a public presentation according to the local customs. This procedure should be followed, we believe, with reference to city or state Latin contests, JCL and other honor keys, Latin Week prizes, etc. The recommendation is based upon the reported experiences of Minnesota teachers, who state that a desirable focus upon academic excellence has been attained by this simple means.

## OUR JUNIOR CLASSICISTS

AS PROOF of the stimulus which is found by the able student in the study of Latin, we quote two letters recently received.

The first is signed by members of the Publicity Workshop of the Junior Classical League, meeting at the fifth national convention, held in August, 1958 at Ann Arbor, Mich.:

"As members of the Junior Classical League, and as students of the Classics in general, who believe that an acquaintance with the civilizations of Greece and Rome will help us understand this world of today, we wish to express our thanks for the emphasis your magazine, *Classical Journal*, has placed upon our Greek and Roman heritage.

"We . . . would like to thank you for including in your magazine numerous articles which have made such interesting and valuable contributions to the study of the Classics . . . and contribute so much to the purpose of the Junior Classical League." (Becky Sewell, Cecilia Cloughly, Penny Naughton, New Mexico; Doris Garcia, Marianne Plisha, Michigan; Barbara Ernst, Pennsylvania.)

The second letter, dated November, 1958, came from the JCL publicity committee of the Inland Empire Region, in its eighth convention, held at Whitworth College in Spokane, Wash.:

"The article 'Scientific Latin' in the October *CJ* sounds like a course that many students would like to have combined with their work in Latin translation. Some of us attend classes where we hope to get considerable background in scientific vocabulary. We think . . . the plan of one semester for pharmaceutical Latin and one for anatomy sounds good, . . . and hope that it may be helpful to teachers and students planning advanced courses. . . ." (Diana Shreve, Joan Solga, Wenatchee; Sharon Patrick, Spokane.)

### MENAECHMI AVAILABLE

LAST SPRING the Latin Players of Phillips Academy staged the *Menaechmi* of Plautus in a shortened and adapted version. As the play will not recur in our cycle for several years, it is thought that some Latin teachers might like copies of the version which was read in class before the performance. These are available in mimeographed form with notes and vocabulary, while they last, at fifty cents a copy. The Audio-Visual Department of the Academy made a tape recording of the performance, which is also available at \$3.50 for teachers who might be interested in using these materials for class reading or for Latin clubs.

ALLAN G. GILLINGHAM

Phillips Academy  
Andover, Mass.

### LATIN IN LOUISIANA

*Excerpts from the Louisiana Foreign Language Association Newsletter, October, 1958:*

IN CONSIDERATION of the nationwide increase in Latin enrollment, information is urgently needed on the status of Latin in Louisiana schools: whether enrollment is increasing or decreasing, who the Latin teachers are, and whether there is adequate preparation of future Latin teachers. This report is only a start toward what should be periodic surveys in Louisiana.

Similar surveys have been conducted, and are being conducted, throughout the United States, in connection with the Joint Classical Organizations of America. They have combined efforts to gain necessary information about the phenomenal growth of Latin classes, especially in the high schools. Often this enrollment increase has been found to

be greater than that normally expected to attend the overall increase in student enrollment.

In Louisiana, approximately 175 questionnaires were mailed to individual Latin teachers whose names appeared on a rather old list. Despite the inaccuracies, forty-two schools returned completed questionnaires. The Louisiana Department of Education reported 80 schools offering Latin in 1957. Thus, replies came from over 50 per cent of the high schools in which Latin is taught.

To summarize my data, presented in tables: Although five Latin teachers are now needed, there appears to be no immediate shortage of high-school Latin teachers because of the number of qualified teachers who are not now teaching Latin. On the other hand, 22 public schools reported a need of 46 Latin teachers within the next five years.

In the past five years only three students with the qualifications to teach Latin were graduated by all Louisiana institutions, and it is not certain whether any of these three obtained a teaching certificate. At present, there are only three students in the state studying to become high-school teachers of Latin. If such conditions continue, Louisiana will soon be facing the problems some northern states now have: not enough Latin teachers to instruct the progressively greater number of boys and girls who want to know Latin.

It is noteworthy that 34 Latin teachers will be needed in the next five years because of the retirement of present teachers. Many must be close to retirement, and the same may be true of a number of those qualified teachers who are not now teaching Latin. In the public schools, the stated ages fell predominantly within 50-60, 40-45, and 45-50. In the private schools, the majority of the Latin teachers reporting were between 30-35, 25-30, and 40-45.

Most teach Latin and another subject, but they consider Latin their primary field of interest in teaching. The qualifications of present Louisiana Latin teachers are good. Over half of the teachers returning questionnaires have an undergraduate major in Latin, while the others have undergraduate minors or equivalency certificates. A surprising number have advanced degrees in Latin.

Not considered in this report is an indeterminate number of future vacancies in Catholic high schools, which will be filled mostly by members of a religious society or order. For example, 18 will be needed in the next five years at Jesuit High School in New Orleans, but almost all will be of the Society of Jesus.



Damaging to statistics, but deserving high praise, is Jesuit High School which requires all its students to take four years of Latin. The school gives five years of Latin (a special honors course in the fifth year), has 22 Latin teachers—all with undergraduate Latin majors—and had a total of 996 Latin students in 1958. It should be noted that 187 of the 209 students taking Latin IV in Louisiana were at this school.

Twelve Latin teachers will be needed in the next five years because of increased enrollment, and 29 of the 42 schools stated that their enrollment has multiplied over the past three years. From the available information, it is impossible to estimate the rate of increase, but two figures are impressive. A Louisiana Department of Education report for 1956-57 shows 5877 Latin students in 80 high schools. In the second semester of 1958, the 42 schools completing the questionnaire had 3717 students in Latin. In some cases the reports are astonishing. One school replied that enrollment had increased nine times over that of the preceding year—chiefly, I learned, because of the energetic teacher who attracted students simply by publicizing what Latin has to offer.

On the college level also, enrollment in Latin has increased, but the figures are not impressive *per se*. A more detailed study should be conducted to determine the rate of increase compared with enrollment of previous years. In three years at Louisiana State University one of my semi-advanced courses grew from 7 to 15 students—an increase of over 100 per cent—but 15 students do not constitute a spectacular number. While we count thousands of Latin students in the high schools, we can find only a few hundreds in the colleges, and many of these do not study beyond beginning Latin.

Latin is still a principal foreign-language study in Louisiana secondary schools. In New Orleans, called the "French City," the number of high-school students studying Latin is a little more than double that of the ones studying French. In Louisiana, in 1956-57, there were 209 students in Latin IV, compared to 18 in Spanish IV and 33 in French IV.

The immediate task has been to collect data and disseminate the information obtained. A second effort should be made to determine measures for rectifying a perilous condition. The situation needs correcting when over 5000 enthusiastic high-school Latin students dwindle to only 256 in the colleges. Surely there is need of improved communication between the high-school

Latin teacher and the college Classics professor. The emerging picture provides a strong warning: only by promoting a continuance of the high-school Latin student's interest when he comes to college can we be sure of producing enough Latin teachers for Louisiana's schools.

THOMAS H. CORCORAN

Miami University  
Oxford, Ohio

## VITA LATINA

INFORMATION has been received regarding a new periodical being published in France. The fourth issue, containing about 90 pages of some 18 different articles written in "lively Latin," appeared in May of 1958. The editor is M. Edouard Aubard, 7 Place Saint-Pierre, Angevin, Vaucluse, France. The magazine is called *Vita Latina*.

## ACADEMY SKIT

For the numerous "alumni" of the American Academy in Rome, this skit, "Roman Slummer," written and produced for the "Commencement" of the 1958 summer group may evoke nostalgic smiles. The responsible parties are Mary O'Connor and Dorothy Vince.

Placard Bearer: FAVETE LINGUIS.

Prologue: Our heartiest felicitations, O hearers of our words. Accept this humble token of our art and receive it graciously with your applause.

Let this rustic table become a place of refreshment for mind and body, called in the quaint Italian dialect, a Bar. Into this setting will come a student—alas, poor wretch—from the American Academy, seeking the sage advice of her pedagogue in this, the final hour. And now, I must hence—for the students approach!

Students:

(Chant) *SPQR* Take us to the nearest bar!

(Song based on "Wouldn't it be Lovely" from *My Fair Lady*):

All we want is a room somewhere  
Far away from Rovere Square.  
With some food we can bear.  
Oh, wouldn't it be love-a-ly?

Lots of water that has some heat,  
And clean linen would be a treat.

Soft beds to rest our feet,  
Oh, wouldn't it be love-a-ly?

Just some food that is recognizable  
And served on time.  
I wouldn't wash it down with wine—  
Or have my dessert at nine.

Austere quarters may please a few.  
Let Rome teach its *virtus* to you,  
But for me this won't do—  
Why couldn't it be love-a-ly?

*Prof.*: (has taken his seat at the table)  
Here, here! Stop that! Well, since the examination is only a few days away, shall we start studying?

*Student*: (also taking her seat at table after rest of students exit) I've an even better idea. I read that there is an educational program, based on Roman history, on television tonight. Why don't we tune it in?

*Prof.*: Sounds reasonable. I just happen to have brought along copies of Tenney Frank and Syme's *Roman Revolution*, so we can clarify anything in doubt.

*Student*: All right, I'll turn it on. (goes to middle of stage)

*Placard Bearer*: TV SET THINK IT UP.

*First Announ.*: The Do-It-Yourself Construction Union, makers of Tufa Building Block and Semper Paratus Flashlight Batteries, presents The Austere Hour!

*Second Announ.*: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. We are most pleased to bring to you tonight the first in a series of 12 television broadcasts based on the history of Rome. Tonight's program covers the period from the Etruscans to Nero. But first, a word from our sponsors.

*Third Announ.*: The Do-It-Yourself Construction Union is proud to be a part of this great broadcast. We feel that with our long line of achievements in tufa, travertine and marble, we have been a *part* of Rome's history.

Enter Jingle Singers.

*First J. S.*: Is your atrium atrocious? Is the brickwork showing through, and the stucco peeling? There is no need for this to happen any longer. The Do-It-Yourself Construction Union has a solution. (To tune of Pepsodent ad song): No wonder city hall looks clean, since they faced the brick with travertine.

*Second J. S.*: Thinking of building a Palatine playground? Then take the advice of the Do-It-Yourself Construction Union. Don't be restrained by the everyday conventions of brick and stone. (Same tune): You'll wonder where the tufa went, since the Romans learned to use cement.

*Second Announ.*: And now, on with the show.

*Commentator*: The people of early times who had the most lasting influence on the Romans were, no doubt, the Etruscans. So instead of fudging, in true Ciceronian style, we'll pass over them, only mentioning that they left tombs utterly out of this world. Steeped in the inexplicable tradition of Etruria, the City of Rome was founded. It is fairly generally conceded that the primary habitation took place on that hill called the Palatine. *Hic Roma condita est*. Even now—thinking away all the modern façades—we can almost see the ancient Romans, returning to their thatched huts, steeped—in the Etruscan traditions.

(Barbershop quartet to "Sweet Adeline"):

O Palatine, Sweet Palatine,  
When I'm in Rome, on you I climb.  
In all my dreams, your ruins gleam.  
You're the blisters on my feet, sweet  
Palatine.

*Commentator*: The last king was Tarquinius Superbus. After the deception played on them about the dating of the Servian Wall, the Romans had had enough. Kings were out. The next step was a democratic government. But, as we all know, since there was no such thing as democracy in Rome, the best thing they could come up with was a Republic. Republics, by the way, are based on popular funds or popular heroes. Rome had both. The popular funds spoke for themselves—as we can see if we look at a plan of the Republican forum. As for the popular heroes—in Republican Rome, it took several factors to qualify for this category: (1) a dynamic personality, (2) an army at one's back, (3) grandiose building ideas.

Several who filled these requirements were Marius, Sulla, Pompey and Julius Caesar. To further stress the point, to make this a little clearer in your minds, we call them heroes, but there is a far more descriptive term!

(Song to tune "Diamonds are a Girl's Best Friend"):

An obelisk in the Square may be quite hellenistic,  
But *nabobs* are a girl's best friend.  
A tomb up in Veii may be quite Tuscanistic,  
But it can't beat Rome, cause all the *nabobs* call it home.  
Kings had their day,  
Consuls are *passé*. So you know where you turn in the end, friend.  
Imperial power had even its hour, but *nabobs* are a girl's best friend.

Republican consuls might be patronistic,  
But nabobs are a girl's best friend.  
Imperial writers were nationalistic—  
They were paid to be—but nabobs need  
no subsidy.

Patricians tried, Equestrians were denied,  
and the plebs never cared for the  
trend.

The nabobs won out, so we haven't a  
doubt that nabobs are a girl's best  
friend.

Encore to Nabobs (to tune of "Collegiate"):

Museums, museums,  
Yes, we have museums, museums by the  
re-ams,  
Raccolta privata, entrata vietata.  
Little men with rusty keys—and  
Statues broken at the knees.  
Museums, museums,  
Yes we have museums, we walk them in  
our dre-ams,  
Museums, bah, bah, bah.

*Commentator:* As is the way with nabobs,  
Marius, Sulla and Pompey went their respective ways—each with a little urging.  
The only one left was Julius Caesar. He, with very little urging, was fast escorting Rome back to the days of the Etruscan monarchy. He never lived to do just that, but passed the task on to his successor. Octavian, later called, and to whom we shall refer as, Augustus.

Jingle Singers.

*First J. S.:* Semper Paratus Flashlight Batteries has a question for you. Would you like this to happen to you? (Scene of confused students, following professor with cups that don't collapse, lights unlit, trying to read maps of Rome, looking for a bus, and trying to take notes.)

(Song to "Whiffenpoof Song"):

From the temple at Praeneste, to the  
place where Nero dwelled,  
To the Tabularium we loved so well.  
See the classicists assembled, with their  
notebooks raised on high,

As the magic of the lecture casts a spell.  
Yes, the magic of the lecture on details  
we know so well—cryptoporticoes,  
complexes and the rest.

We will stagger through the Forum, while  
cups and flashlights last.

Then, we'll think away whatever may be  
left.

Let us write as we climb into tomb and  
jail. Walk, walk, walk,

Taking notes as we trudge over road and  
trail. Walk, walk, walk.

Never were Romans confused as we—  
crammed with axial symmetry.

O Gods, have mercy on us as we walk,  
walk, walk.

*Third J. S.:* To avoid this situation, use  
Semper Paratus Flashlight Batteries, 'the  
batteries with ten lives. Let this be you!  
(Scene of happy students; everything works  
well.)

(Song to tune "There is Nothing like a  
Dame" from *South Pacific*):

There is nothing like a bus—nothing in  
the world.

Nothing else can carry us, to a lecture  
site like a bus.

There is no tram like a bus, NO, NO,  
No traffic jam with a bus, NO, NO,  
There is no fuss with a bus, NO, NO.

No other bus we've known has been our  
own.

And since it's ours, how fond we've grown  
Of our handy, safe and sane—easy to  
obtain—bus!

*First Announ.:* And now, back to our  
annals.

*Commentator:* The regime of Augustus  
was characterized by building activities,  
political maneuvers, and patronizing literary  
artists, who were evidently not patronized enough.

Augustus lived to an overripe old age and  
was followed by Tiberius, who had his  
problems, as who hasn't? Tiberius' main  
problem was Agrippina, whose chief contribution to Roman history was the next emperor, Gaius Caesar, or Caligula.

Let us pause a moment here for a bit of etymology. The name of Caligula means "Little Boot." There are two theories as to the origin of the name. Some seem to think that it is based on his introduction to the army, in military dress, at an early age. This is false. The name took its origins in some unknown but significant event which occurred about the time of his death, which took place, by the way, in a cryptoporticus of the imperial palace on the Palatine. The moral of all this being, I suppose, "If you can't see them, don't look."

(Song on tiptoe to tune "Tiptoe through the Tulips"):

Let's tiptoe through the crypto,  
With the stucco crumbling over me.  
Come tiptoe, through the crypto with me.

Don't mind the rat's hole in cappellaccio,  
Or the spiders, on the porphyry,  
Just tiptoe, through the crypto, with me.

*Commentator:* Caligula's successor, after a brief curtain call, was Claudius, his uncle, harmless, scholarly, fascinated by past history, and fond of mushrooms. This last failing led to his demise at the hand of his stepson, Nero—artistic, Hellenistic, and definitely warped. Nero had one, if not all, of the qualifications for being a nabob. For example, grandiose building ideas. So grandiose, in fact, were Nero's ideas that he planned to remodel the entire city. The only problem was what to do with the old one. Nero solved this very simply by burning it. His artistic talent then fully aroused, he witnessed his fulfillment.

(Song to tune "Look Down that Lonely Road"):

Look down, look down that lonely forum  
And think away the ruins.

Look down, look down that Via Appia  
And think away the to-imbs.

Early Roman Sabines, Latins, built their  
huts where ragazzi play.  
You'll see palazzi, and new piazze,  
But you must think it all away.

*Commentator:* And now, another brief word from our sponsor.

*Fourth J. S.:* Food in Rome is of prime importance, and even before the advent of Nero, gourmets had their historical value.

(Song to tune of Winston cigarette commercial):

Tufa tastes good like a (clap, clap) building block should.

Tufa gives you real flavor, pure ancient Roman flavor.

Tufa tastes good, like a (clap, clap) building block should.

*Commentator:* Thank you for your attention, ladies and gentlemen. Tune in next summer for the following installments.

*Student:* Do you really feel that you got anything out of that?

*Prof.:* Oh, definitely; it was just like my own student days at the American Academy. At first, everything was just an uninteresting pile of rubble. But then, gradually, it all became symmetrical.

(Recitation to song "Cinderella"):

Opus mixtum or spicatum,

Or perhaps reticulatum,

Or maybe it's incertum, I'm really not too certain.

With pilasters rusticated I believe I've got it dated.

It's Claudian—no—I think it's done by Hadrian.

If the vault looks like a melon, it is

certainly not Sullan.

And the binocular effect is by Domitian's architect.

To alleviate frustration in dating antiquation, it's quite simple—

All you do is find the brick stamp!

(All together, the song to tune "Mac-Namara's Band"; "The Lenaghan Song"):  
Oh, we took our books and we took our laps  
and we followed him with glee,  
We all were filled with fellowship in his fine company.

He lived through each shenanigan,

A brave, stout heart has he.

Let's give a cheer for Lenaghan, and his sobriety!

(Song to the tune "Two Lost Soules"; "The MacKendrick Song"):

We're poor souls,

In the forum of Rome.

We can't tell the ruin, we can't find the stamped brick,

\*But ain't it just great, and ain't it just grand,

We've got MacKendrick!

We're poor lost souls,

Reading Fasti Augusti,

We can't tell the date, or who went with which clique,

\*(Repeat Chorus)

We were lost souls

In the Classical School,

We've learned about Rome in a way quite dynamic,

Oh, ain't it just great, and ain't it just grand,

We've had MacKendrick!

*Epilogue:*

Now you've seen our fable unfold,

And you know we've not much more to lose.

Our integrity well may be sold—

But never, no never—our Muse!

*Presentation:* (of statue with just feet remaining)

With no sublime poetic feat have we embellished Rome,

\*Whose growth we've seen from darkwood green to walls of polychrome.

But when, back to our provinces, we hasten to retreat,

We find we've left behind in Rome—no, not our hearts—our feet.

*La commedia è finita!*

## AUGUSTINE AND THE TRANSVALUATION OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

ALBERT C. OUTLER

AS A RULE, modern "classicists" have neglected the Greek and Latin authors of the Christian church and have justified themselves largely on aesthetic grounds. On the other side, patristic scholars have often been content with a superficial understanding of the pagan authors, pleading the difficulty of mastering two fields so disparate and so demanding. Naturally enough, the result has been an impoverishment of both fields, at a time when classicists and patrologists have a common cause to rekindle in the modern mind an intelligent interest in the ancient world. How can the life and culture of the Greco-Roman world be understood, rightly and fully, if the history and literature of Christianity are relegated to the status of an appendix? And how can Christianity be understood apart from its inextricable rootage in the culture and climate of the Roman Empire?

Surely Classics and Patristics belong, in some basic sense, in a single intelligible field of study. And when, as sometimes happens, a good classicist does try to gain a synoptic view of Christianity and classical culture, both classicists and patrologists are made aware of how fruitful such collaboration can be.<sup>1</sup>

It should be of more than passing interest to the "classicists" that one of the most widely read Latin authors nowadays is Aurelius Augustinus, a Latin rhetorician turned Christian bishop in an obscure diocese on the fringe of the Empire in the time of Rome's *Götterdämmerung*. In his own day, he was easily the most famous teacher in the Church, and since that day he has continued to be a living force in Christian thought and Western civilization. He has been an eminent doctor to Catholics and Protestants alike — and has been cited by each against the other. He has played a major role in every intellectual renaissance in the

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See Volume 54 (1959) 146-59.

West since the time of Charlemagne. There are Augustinian accents in modern philosophy and, in a sense, Augustine is the most influential contemporary theologian. While he is being studied in the university and the seminary as a philosopher and theologian, he is also still more widely read—in his *Confessions*, particularly—as an artist of the inner life.<sup>2</sup>

He is misunderstood, however, unless his reader realizes that, in his own eyes, Augustine saw himself as an heir to the tradition of classical culture, as one vitally concerned to appropriate its values and to measure its claims by the norm of Christian truth. He was a stern critic of the tradition, to be sure, but no despiser of it. When he became a Christian, he gained the freedom to transvalue his pagan heritage, confident that he was thus conserving its good essence. Augustine, then, is best understood, and on his own terms, when he is reckoned as a *Christian classicist* who saw no contradiction in the terms.<sup>3</sup>

His life span coincided, in a striking way, with the penultimate stages of Rome's collapse. He was born (November 13, 354 A.D.) in a village in the province of Africa—in a time of civil war and just three years after Constantius' bloody victory at Mursa had de-nuded the defenses of the Danube frontier. He was a lad of ten when Julian fell before the Persians on the Tigris. He was a fledgling teacher of rhetoric at Carthage when the disaster of Hadrianople sealed the doom of Rome. His manhood was lived through the nerve-racking years of Theodosius and Stilicho. Alaric's raid on Rome came at the very peak of his career. He died, twenty years later (August 28, 430), in the beleaguered town of Hippo Rhegius, with the Vandals pounding at the walls. His whole career was cast in the deepening twilight of Roman civilization.

His father, Patricius, was one of those impoverished *curiales* who had to shoulder the burden of a bankrupt Empire. His mother, Monica, was a devout and over-solicitous parent, whose re-

lation to her gifted son is one of the most fascinating sub-plots of the *Confessions*. Patricius and Monica were fiercely ambitious for Augustine and, at great sacrifice, found the means to provide him with a good education in the schools of Tagaste, Madaura (the home town of Apuleius) and Carthage.

High-spirited, intelligent, insatiable, Augustine set himself to absorb the full bounty of his Latin heritage. Curiously, he developed a "block" against Greek learning, and all his life his access to Greek literature was largely through Latin translations.<sup>4</sup> But Latin he "loved exceedingly" and read voraciously.<sup>5</sup> It was Cicero's *Hortensius* that started him on his devious quest for wisdom.<sup>6</sup> In a span of thirteen years he passed in succession through the schools of the Manichees, the "Academics" and the "Platonists." At every stage, he was driven by an eager *curiositas* as well as a thirst for salvation.

His conversion in Milan (386) was the climax to a long series of personal crises. It finally resolved his distraught will and re-ordered his distracted career. With it came the judgment that pagan learning must be firmly subordinated to the pre-eminent worth of revealed truth.<sup>7</sup> Yet, for all that, he refused to jettison his own share of that learning. He conserved and cherished all he had received, but he had discovered a way by which it could be radically transvalued. Gibbon, who regarded Augustine with cold distaste, glibed that "his learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own."<sup>8</sup> There is this much truth in such an aspersion: Augustine felt free to get his learning wherever it could be had; he felt bound to subject any and all of it to his own Christian understanding.

Directly after his conversion, he resigned his professorial post at Milan and retired to a villa at nearby Cassiciacum with a few friends and relations for a brief experiment in communal living. Here, in the space of some five months, he produced a series of essays,



consciously modeled after Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*.<sup>9</sup> These are so patently akin to their pagan models as to raise questions about the character and consequences of the conversion.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, these dialogues belong to the organic whole of Augustine's perspective and they echo and re-echo down the years in his later work. In his *Retractions*, the aged bishop refuses to disown them, even though he candidly regrets their careless use of misleading terms (like *fortuna*, *omen*, *casus*, *naturae necessitas* and the like). These *Retractions* furnish us with a priceless mirror of Augustine's self-image, for in this review of his life's work, he measures out the distance he has traveled from his earliest days as a Christian down to his old age.<sup>11</sup> Even here the Christian bishop is still the Christian classicist, concerned to strike a just balance in the relation between Christianity and classicism—to be clear as to its faults and its values.

Augustine understood the tendencies of the Christian "Ciceronians"—men like Lactantius, Eusebius Pamphili, and Jerome—who treasured the classical heritage so much that they were loathe to subject it to a really radical criticism. He also knew the Christian "secessionists"—Tatian, Tertullian, Arnobius—with their testy denunciations of pagan philosophy: "Away with all attempts at a mottled Christianity, that mixture of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic rubbish!"<sup>12</sup> Augustine refused both these extremes and sought to harmonize his learning and his delight in learning with his faith in God as Creator and his delight in exploring His creation.

His transvaluation of classicism began with the ruthless excision of every human pretension to absoluteness. The wisdom of the ancient world had foundered on the dilemma of ideals that had to be imposed by force. Vergil's soaring vision of the Augustan principate had given way to a chronic anxiety over survival. Augustine confronted a shattered idealism with the Christian message of creation and redemption,

of God's sovereign grace diffused in every event, effective in every dimension of existence. If grace is valued foremost, then nature may be valued in consequence. If faith is primary, then the quest for understanding becomes a legitimate enterprise.<sup>13</sup> When men are bedeviled to absolutize some person or creaturely thing, they fall into tragic confusion and disorder. When they are converted to God, their interest in "things" falls into right proportion. Thus, pagan literature, philosophy and history can be transvalued and conserved, provided only that they abandon every claim to ultimacy.

The transvaluation proceeds as Augustine tries to discriminate between the valid and false in classicism. He freely acknowledges his debt to Cicero—and yet he is also aware of Cicero's ambiguous role as a politician and, in one place, he refers to him as a *philosophaster*.<sup>14</sup> He recognized, with profound admiration, the political vision of the *pax Romana*, with its foundation in law and equity. *Conditæ est civitas Roma . . . per quam Deo placuit orbem debellare terrarum et in unam societatem rei publicae legumque perductum longe lateque pacare*.<sup>15</sup> But he saw plainly that Rome had never solved the problem of ends and means: it had stubbornly identified power with the right to wield that power selfishly. Hence, his rejection of the idolatrous pretensions of Emperor and Empire.

In lesser degree, this attitude of critical appreciation is also evident in his attitude toward pagan philosophy. For the most part, he gives Lucretius and the Epicureans the silent treatment, albeit not from ignorance. He knew the logical works of Aristotle but evidently not the metaphysical treatises. At any rate, there are no signs of significant influence. His real light and leading in pagan philosophy was Plato and "the Platonists" (Plotinus and Porphyry, mainly). As a Christian theologian, he puts to grateful use the Platonic concepts of "spiritual substance," of evil as the privation of the good, of intuition as the



basic mode of knowledge and the duality of body-soul. But he is no less precise and explicit as to the basic error of "the Platonists." They would know nothing of revelation, in the biblical sense, and so were forever blocked from any real commerce with the Living God who is the essence and the heart of the Mystery which they acknowledged and adored.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, in his language and style, Augustine shows himself as an heir and summator of the past rather than as a conscious innovator. Vergil was his chief delight, as Cicero remained his conscious model. He had been trained as a Latin rhetor — and once a rhetor, always a rhetor. Although he scorned a studied and self-consciously elegant style, he kept the ingrained habits of a word-smith. Even in his extempore sermons we find samples of all the standard figures and devices of Latin rhetoric — used skilfully and to good effect. There is a marked use of *clausulae*, for Augustine took great pains with the cadence and sonority of his sentences.<sup>17</sup> But he rarely strives for rhetorical effect for its own sake and everywhere puts his message and his hearer ahead of any preoccupation with style. And he makes repeated mention of the false sentimentalism and the ethical irrelevance of the poets and the dramatists.

Augustine was in his mid-fifties when Alaric's Goths sacked Rome. It was a catastrophe and it convulsed the world. Moreover, it precipitated an urgent reconsideration of the whole problem of history and providence. To Augustine, no less than many another, Rome was the symbol of a millennium of human endeavor to build a human commonwealth that was strong enough to survive and good enough to be worth surviving. Now this symbol was shattered and anxious men were asking anguished questions: Why and what now? Because he had spent a quarter-century in just this sort of inquiry, Augustine was ready to "explain" the fall of Rome as the critical instance of his Christian "philosophy of history."

In contrast to the majority of both pagans and Christians, he reacted to the news of Rome's disaster with a gravity devoid of shock or bewilderment. "Old Romans" like Rutilius Namatianus were outraged and bitter, and found a needed scapegoat in Stilicho and the Christians. At least a few Christians like Jerome went into transports of grief.<sup>18</sup> But the majority of the nominal Christians, who had subscribed to the Constantinian maxim that Rome needed Christianity and *vice versa*, were simply stunned and bemused. What is Christianity good for, if not to prevent such things as this? Their disillusionment struck at the heart of the Gospel — and Augustine felt bound to react to it. Not long after the fearful news reached Africa, he preached a sermon *De Excidio Urbis Romae*.<sup>19</sup> His argument is threefold. First, God does not shelter His children from all affliction — this may be seen in the trials of holy people in the Bible and in the Christian martyrdoms. Secondly, Rome has not been utterly destroyed, but only severely chastened — this by contrast with the fate of Sodom! Finally, if the Romans would learn the right lesson from their humiliation, their disaster would prove a blessing in disguise.

But the problem of Rome's fate persisted. The imperial proconsul of the province, Volusianus, began to plague his Christian colleague Marcellinus — the imperial commissioner "in charge of church affairs" — with embarrassing questions. Volusianus was not hostile to the Christians — his mother was one — but he thought he saw a connection between Theodosius' "establishment" of Christianity as the official religion<sup>20</sup> and Gratian's removal of the Altar of Victory from the Senate<sup>21</sup> — and the fall of Rome! Marcellinus was unable to refute this *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. Besides, he had a puzzler of his own: "Why do the good (i.e., Christian) emperors seem to fare no better than the others?"<sup>22</sup> Together, the proconsul and the commissioner turned to Augustine, who rightly saw

in Volusianus a typical form of pagan suspicion, in Marcellinus a sample of Christian confusion. Between them, they had managed to pose the right questions — and to point up the tension between *Romanitas* and *Christianitas*.

With a solemn sense of responsibility, Augustine set himself to weigh *Romanitas* in the Christian scale. He would first review the history of Rome and show how the current disasters were only the bitter fruit of a long season of injustice and violence.<sup>23</sup> He would then examine Roman religion (largely through the eyes of Marcus Terentius Varro), to expose its tragic mixture of aspiration and superstition.<sup>24</sup> After this, he would survey the whole panorama of human history and trace the intertwined destinies of the *civitas terrena* — the commonwealth of self-interest — and the *civitas Dei* — the community of those who love God above all else and all else in God. This would bring him to the very brink of time and to the threshold of heaven.<sup>25</sup> The story that begins with a Gothic raid on Rome runs back to creation and thence forward to that Kingdom without end, the real goal of our present life.<sup>26</sup> It is no wonder that such a project consumed the scant leisure of fifteen years.

It is instructive to lay the first five books of the *De Civitate Dei* alongside the Roman histories themselves. One must always remember that Augustine was an African, the son of a proud people who had often felt the weight of Rome's heavy hand. Yet he knows Roman history with a patriot's interest — and his judgments on it are full of echoes of Cato, Cicero, Sallust and Livy.<sup>27</sup> His knowledge of Roman history is thorough and accurate. His references to the agony and tragedy of Republican Rome are not the comments of an indifferent bystander. He follows no single party line but, by and large, he comes nearest to Sallust's judgment that the *populares* were the true defenders of the primitive *res publica* of Rome and that Caesar was an honest heir of the Gracchi. His de-

tailed references to the civil and social wars are in strange contrast to his sparse comments on the establishment of the Augustan principate and the course of imperial history. He dwells on the affairs of Sulla and Marius, Cato and Cicero in more intimate detail than he does with regard to the anarchy of the third century A.D. or the contemporary events in his own lifetime. To Augustine, the Roman Empire was more of an idea than it was an historical phenomenon.<sup>28</sup> That idea had been forged and framed by the civil wars and the Augustan settlement. It was the image of a society dominated by the lust for power (*libido dominandi*); this power structure was centered in the monarch and its operations were rationalized by a pattern of universal law. But such a political arrangement was inherently unstable and tended to lurch or stumble from anarchy to tyranny back to anarchy and so on, to the inevitable end.

Yet even this unstable Empire, Augustine insists, was appointed by God's providence to run the course it has and He has not failed to accomplish His purposes in and through it. Rome has had a special place in God's design for history. The trouble was that the Romans came to believe that Rome was eternal and so had made of Rome an idol. They had set the value of political security above all others and had thus guaranteed the failure of their whole political venture. They must now see that no earthly *civitas* is absolute or eternal, that only in the *civitas Dei* is human existence secured and redeemed from tragedy.

Augustine tries to show, in response to Marcellinus, that the Christian emperors have had somewhat happier reigns than the others. But he emphasizes the point that earthly rewards are not God's best signs of favor.<sup>29</sup> He candidly admits that a few of the pagan emperors enjoyed the rarest luxuries a ruler might desire in a time of chronic disorder — long life, a peaceful death and sons to succeed to the purple without civil strife. But boons

such as these are easily over-rated; God has even better blessings for His own.<sup>30</sup> Then follows Augustine's portrait of the really good emperor—an ideal that could be realized only by a Christian emperor in a theocratic society. This is the famous "Mirror of Christian Princes" which Charlemagne loved to hear read aloud.<sup>31</sup>

Augustine's verdict on Rome's fall follows logically from his interpretation of Rome's history. The event was a disaster, to be sure, but not an irredeemable one. The pagan gods had nothing to do with it, one way or the other—and the Christians are certainly not to blame for the calamity. Actually, as Augustine reminds the Romans, it was God's mercy that Rome had not fallen to Radagaisus and his Goths some five years earlier, as it might very well have done; for Radagaisus was a far more fanatical and bloodthirsty barbarian than Alaric.<sup>32</sup> In his own way, Augustine would have agreed with Gibbon that Rome's fall was the triumph of barbarism and superstition—but the superstition Augustine would mean was the purblind faith of the Romans in the false image of *Romanitas*.

Scipio had defined true community: *Populum esse definit coetum multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum*.<sup>33</sup> But *iuris consensus* is a delusion in a situation where men are obsessed by the lust for power—and Rome had, in fact, been so deluded. Thus, her purpose to be a true community had miscarried. In place of the Scipionic model, Augustine proposes an alternative—similar in form, radically different in essence. *Populus est coetus multitudinis rationalis rerum quas diligit concordie communione sociatus*.<sup>34</sup> A "people" is a crowd which has received a common character from a common loyalty and devotion. If what they love is evil or unstable, so also the "people" formed by that love will be wicked and insecure. If their common loyalty is stable and true, a stable and true community is formed thereby, and maintained. It

was the fault of *Romanitas* that it absolutized men's natural sentiments of patriotism into idolatry and subsumed religion under their political and social concerns. But Augustine is no "secessionist." He regarded himself as a loyal Roman who cherished the glory and grandeur of the Greco-Roman civilization—up to the point where it turned into a demonic force. He was a patriot who insisted that all secular values be radically subordinated to what is, in essence and truth, the ultimate value: God's righteous rule in human hearts and His commonwealth of grace.

It is easy to forget that the Augustine we know through the vast corpus of his writings is only part of the man. In his own eyes, he was less the prolific author than the busy pastor, less the theological creator than an overseer of the Church in its turbulent career in a demoralized world. After his half-year at Cassiciacum, he never had the leisure to write another unhurried book. Even when he tried, he was never able to get his thoughts into a compact, summary form.<sup>35</sup> The system of doctrines which can be abstracted from his works and then labeled "Augustinian theology" probably never existed in his mind, as a whole or at any one time. Most of his writing is responsive to concrete situations—queries, crises and controversies—and he always strove to speak to each actual occasion. This is why he can be quoted against himself and why certain passages from his later works—taken by themselves—can be cited in favor of an extreme monism from which even the Church which canonized him recoiled.<sup>36</sup> Yet, at the center of his thought, there is a profoundly stable and vital core of faith and understanding which pivots around his profound and multifaceted doctrine of grace. His honorific title, *Doctor Gratiae*, is fully appropriate.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Augustine to the historian of ideas is the way he managed to broach and explore so many new frontiers of

thought. It is as if the hurly-burly of his career pushed him into more intense and personally urgent issues than a quieter life might have had to face. He turned the philosophic quest from its preoccupation with formal being and focused it on personal being — and so produced a unique kind of "autobiography" and, with it, what Windelband called the first "metaphysics of inner experience."<sup>37</sup> He was a first-rate psychological observer and, for his time, a knowledgeable "natural philosopher." He rejected all one-sided rationalisms and fideisms in favor of the *credo ut intelligam* — but his concern for intelligibility is as strong as any other great philosopher's.<sup>38</sup> He recognized in the Incarnation an historical event in man's own time and history, and so worked out the first fully explicit philosophy of time and history — an interpretation of the sort of history in which the Incarnation "made sense." He saw literally everything in life and nature, in human existence and society, as securely held within the gracious purposes of the one true God almighty. Thus he was able to coordinate the Christian doctrines of creation and grace in a remarkable way.

The image of Augustine which has come to be predominant is that of a philosopher-theologian. This is not a false image, of course, but neither is it a fully-rounded one. Augustine deserves to be known on his native ground as a late Latin author whose Christian faith transvalued the classical tradition which formed the nucleus of his culture. He is best heard by those today who, like his first auditors, can deeply feel the anxiety and shudders of a crumbling society in an autumnal season of the world's history. Such men, if they share his faith in God's providence and grace, will understand that Augustine's stern judgment on the *civitas terrena* is grounded in his vivid sense of the tragic miscarriage of human pride. If he kept his head while others were panic-stricken by Rome's downfall, it was because he

was so sure that no earthly city is man's true and final home — neither Babylon, nor Athens nor Rome.

More than any other ancient Christian, Augustine achieved a viable synthesis of Christian faith and classical culture. Lactantius was more consciously imitative of the classical models,<sup>39</sup> but he was a strangely confused and muddled theologian. Jerome was more deeply responsive to the classical style and forms<sup>40</sup> — but he was a narrow-hearted man who was more concerned with style than with charity or justice. Boethius and Cassiodorus were more self-conscious about their responsibility to keep alight the torch of learning in the encircling gloom of barbarism, but their times were unpropitious. Actually, of course, the vast multitude of Christians remained quite indifferent to the tasks of synthesis or the possibility of a Christian classicism. It is against this background that Augustine's achievement can and should be measured.

Determined to bring the pagan world to the judgment of the Gospel and yet unwilling to lose God's good gifts to Greece and Rome, he was at pains both to claim his heritage and to transvalue it. This was his way of obeying his Lord's command that a man should love God with all his *mind*! It was also his way of paying his debt to the classical tradition.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford, 1940); now re-issued as a Galaxy paperback (New York, 1957).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. Battenhouse (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine* (New York, 1955) for a recent survey of Augustine's writings, an analysis of his major doctrines and an appraisal of his significance in modern life and letters. See also M. C. D'Arcy (ed.), *A Monument to St. Augustine* (New York, 1930); Nigel Abercrombie, *St. Augustine and French Classical Thought* (Oxford, 1938); and the three-volume report of the proceedings of the Congrès International Augustinien (held in Paris in 1954) edited by Fulbert Cayré, *Augustinus Magister* (Paris, 1955).

The standard text of Augustine is the Benedictine edition reprinted in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, vols. 32-47. The *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latini*

norum has thus far included roughly half of the Augustinian corpus in properly critical editions (17 volumes to date). The new *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, has appeared in six volumes to date (*De Civitate Dei*, In *Johannis Evangelium Tractatus* CXXIV and the *Ennarationes in Psalmos*) in what must now be regarded as definitive editions. There are important editions of separate works: as, for example, the Teubner edition of the *Confessions* by M. Skutella (Leipzig, 1934) and another edition of the same by Pierre de Labriolle (Paris, 1950) with an excellent French translation and notes. Or, again, Otto Scheel, *Augustinus Enchiridion* (Tübingen, 1930) is a model of critical editing. Of especial interest to instructors in Latin is C. S. C. Williams, *The Confessions of St. Augustine, Book VIII* (Oxford, 1953), a paperback based on the Gibb and Montgomery edition and prepared for students taking the Preliminary Examination in Theology at Oxford. The notes are full and excellent.

The most nearly complete English translation of Augustine is still in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 1st Series, vols. 1-8. A large two-volume selection of these translations, with revisions and notes, has been edited by Whitney J. Oates, *Basic Writings of St. Augustine*. It is the plan of *The Fathers of the Church* to provide a complete edition of Augustine in English. Sixteen volumes (including five volumes of the *Letters*) have appeared thus far. Six small volumes of Augustine in English have been published in the series *Ancient Christian Writers*. Perhaps the most useful "library" of Augustine in English is the three-volume set in *The Library of Christian Classics*: VI, *Augustine: Earlier Writings* (ed. J. H. S. Burleigh); VII, *Confessions and Enchiridion* (ed. A. C. Outler); and VIII, *Augustine: Later Works* (ed. John Burnaby).

The literature on Augustine is immense and beyond just compression into a few "best" titles. The reader should consult the bibliographies in Battenhouse, *A Companion*, in the *Library of Christian Classics*, and in F. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de St. Augustin* (Paris, 1949).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique—"Retractatio"* (Paris, 1949) pp. 655 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Conf.* 1. 13-15; cf. S. Angus, "Augustine's Knowledge of Greek" in *The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De Civitate Dei* (Princeton, 1906) pp. 236-73.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 1. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 3. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf. Ench.* 5. 9. Later generations of Christians took this admonition as a warrant for fideism, but this was not Augustine's intention.

<sup>8</sup> *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Bury edition) vol. 28, p. 901, note 53.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. David E. Roberts, "The Earliest Writings" in Battenhouse, *The Companion*, p. 124; see also J. H. S. Burleigh (ed.), *The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the thesis of P. Alfaro, *L'Évolution Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin: I. Du Manichéisme au Néoplatonisme* (Paris, 1918) that the Milanese conversion was to "neo-Platonism" rather than to Christianity. There is now an extensive literature on this point. Cf. C. Boyer, *Christianisme et Néoplatonisme dans la Formation de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1920); Gilson, *Introduction*; and

P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Retract.* 1. 1-5; see also G. Bardy, *Les Révisions* (Bibliothèque Augustinienne, 1st Series, 12) pp. 59-105.

<sup>12</sup> Tertullian, *De Praes. Her.* 7: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord can there be between the Academy and the Church? . . . We want no curious disputations once we possess Jesus Christ, no inquiry once we have begun to enjoy the Gospel."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Robert E. Cushman, "Faith and Reason" in Battenhouse, *The Companion*, pp. 287-313, for an excellent interpretation of *credo ut intelligam*.

<sup>14</sup> *De Civ. Dei* 2. 27.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 18. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Conf.* 7. 9-21.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. M. V. O'Reilly, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de Excidio Urbis Romae Sermo, A Critical Text and Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Washington, 1955) pp. 9-15.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *August. Ep.* 127: "A dreadful rumor came from the West. Rome has been besieged . . . and besieged again. My voice sticks in my throat; and, as I dictate, sobs choke my utterance. The City which had captured the whole world has itself been captured." Cf. also *Ep.* 128 and the preface to the *Com. on Ezek.*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. O'Reilly (see note 17).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 16. 1. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gibbon (see note 8) p. 886.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 136. 2.

<sup>23</sup> *De Civ. Dei* 1-4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 6-10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 11-22.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 22. 30.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Angus (see note 4) pp. 9-59.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Cochrane (see note 1) pp. 355 f.

<sup>29</sup> *Ep.* 136. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *De Civ. Dei* 5. 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*; cf. Eginhard (or Einhard), *Vita Car. Mag. Imp.* (ed. L. Halphen [Paris, 1923]) ch. 24, p. 72.

<sup>32</sup> *De Civ. Dei* 5. 23; cf. Orosius, *Hist.* 3. 37.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in *De Civ. Dei* 19. 21, from Cicero's lost essay, *De Re Pub.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 19. 24; see also ch. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the curious prolixity of the *Enchiridion*, which he intended to be succinct and symmetrical.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. E. Seeberg, *Textbook of the History of Doctrines* (Philadelphia, 1905) vol. 1, pp. 379 ff.

<sup>37</sup> W. Windelband, *A History of Philosophy* (New York, 1935) pp. 276 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Gilson, *Introduction*, "Premier Partie," ch. 2, 5.

<sup>39</sup> His *Divinae Institutiones* was quite deliberately modeled after the *De Officiis* of Cicero and was intended to serve as a sort of charter for the new order of a Christian society under Constantine.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 22. 30, where Jerome recounts his dream of the Judgment. "Asked who I was and what I was, I replied: 'I am a Christian.' But He who presided said: 'Thou liest, thou art a disciple of Cicero and not of Christ. For "where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also." . . .



## ROMAN CITIZENSHIP PER MAGISTRATUM

DONALD W. BRADEEN

THIS PAPER is an attempt to show that Roman citizenship was not granted automatically to magistrates in towns of Latin status in the time of the Republic.<sup>1</sup> That this was the practice under the Empire is certain,<sup>2</sup> and it is usually stated categorically, not only in handbooks but even in more specialized works on the subject, that it goes well back into Republican times.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, a great difference of opinion as to just when it began. For instance, Zumpt would push the origin back into the fifth century B.C.;<sup>4</sup> Mommsen favored a date of 268 B.C.;<sup>5</sup> while Tibiletti, in the latest work I know on the subject, prefers 126, the time of the revolt of Fregellae.<sup>6</sup> This study grew out of routine investigation of the problem of dating the introduction of such grants. As this progressed, I was impressed first of all by the fact that almost every piece of evidence bearing on the question was, at the crucial point, corrupt or mutilated, or at least so considered by most of the editors. Even the phrase commonly used to describe the practice, *per magistratum*, depends upon an emendation.<sup>7</sup> It was rather disconcerting to see upon what

weak supports rested what is considered to be one of the major elements of Republican *Latinitas*. Finally I concluded that the evidence as a whole, viewed impartially, indicated that the granting of Roman citizenship to Latin magistrates had probably not existed at all during the Republic and certainly did not antedate 89 B.C. This I hope to show by a review of the evidence as it pertains to Republican times, but first of all, a brief survey of the references to the practice during the Empire may be useful.

Gaius (*Inst.* 1. 95-96), in a discussion of the effect on children of grants of citizenship to their parents, speaks of two types of Latin status, *Latium maius* and *minus*, in one of which both magistrates and *decuriones*, in the other just the magistrates received Roman citizenship. Although the text here has an obvious lacuna, its sense is clear enough. Gaius is referring to his own day, the second century after Christ, but the *Latium minus*, at least, goes back to the time of Augustus, as we know from Suetonius (*Aug.* 47). Vespasian granted this status to all Spain (Pliny, *N. H.* 3. 30), and we have an ex-

ample of this very practice which we are investigating in the *Lex Municipii Salpensani*, a charter given to a Spanish community early in the reign of Domitian.<sup>8</sup> The extant portion of this inscription begins with the section (21) which seems to deal with grants of citizenship to magistrates, and Mommsen restores it to read that they would get their citizenship at the expiration of their year of office. Although this restoration has been questioned,<sup>9</sup> it is clear that there was such a provision somewhere in the charter, for in chapter 25 it is specified that a prefect shall have all the rights of the magistrate appointing him except that of obtaining Roman citizenship.

All this leaves no doubt about such citizenship grants under the Empire, but are we justified then in pushing the practice back into the Republic, and if so, how far? First, I believe that we may safely discard any date before 215 B.C. Livy (23. 22) states that in that year Spurius Carvilius proposed that Roman citizenship and a seat in the Senate be given to two Latin senators from each of the Latin cities. It seems clear from this proposal that there had been no granting of Roman citizenship to Latin magistrates up to that time, for otherwise the Latin senates, or at least the Latin towns, would have included many who had obtained Roman citizenship, and these ex-magistrates were certainly those whom Carvilius had in mind. The proposal got nowhere, and Livy records a violent reaction against it in the Senate — a reaction which has often been used (e.g., by Mommsen<sup>10</sup>) to discredit the whole account as reflecting a situation prevalent more than a hundred years later at the time of the Social War. But however much we think that the account has been colored by later events, it is certainly not permissible to discount the proposal itself nor to deny its implications, especially since it is connected with a man who had twice been consul and who belonged to a family with no known political importance in the first century.

But what of the later Republic and

particularly of the theory that would introduce the practice in 126 B.C.? Before reviewing the evidence here, we must first make it clear that the burden of proof rests heavily on those who wish to maintain that such grants of citizenship were made in Republican times. For in Cicero we find evidence which strongly indicates that this practice was not in effect in 56 B.C. In his speech in defense of Balbus, delivered in that year, the orator makes a very clear statement that in Roman civil law the holding of Roman citizenship was incompatible with keeping citizenship in any other state.<sup>11</sup> This means, on the face of it, that no Latin magistrate, if he received Roman citizenship, could hold any further office, or even vote, in his own state. Such a situation certainly would have been unthinkable, at least to the Latins involved, and I know of no modern authority who would hold it to have been the case.<sup>12</sup> Those who believe in such grants must maintain, in contradiction to Cicero's statement, that these ex-magistrates had a sort of "double citizenship." It is true that recently this question of double citizenship in Republican times has aroused much controversy and the Belgian scholar, De Visscher, has attempted, unsuccessfully in my opinion, to show that Cicero's rule applied only to those who were Romans by birth; however, the Latins have not entered much into this argument, as De Visscher considers them to have been of "un status romain de degré inférieur."<sup>13</sup> But, while using them as examples in the same speech, Cicero refers to the Latins as *foederati*,<sup>14</sup> which makes it very difficult to exempt them from the general rule. Either Cicero is basically wrong or the Latins could have had no double citizenship and therefore the grant of Roman citizenship to Latin magistrates could not have been the rule. Tibiletti, by denying the possibility of double citizenship and yet accepting the grant of citizenship to these magistrates, is forced into the paradoxical position of seeing in these ex-magistrates Roman



citizens with the special privilege of running for office in their own towns, i.e., of exercising the very rights of the citizenship he believes they had to give up to become Romans.<sup>15</sup> This is hardly likely; at the least it should be admitted that the evidence must be overwhelming and unquestionable to make such a paradox acceptable.

Now we must examine in detail this evidence on the basis of which it is maintained that the granting of Roman citizenship to Latin magistrates was the practice during the Republic; to me it seems far from overwhelming and unquestionable. It consists of several passages dealing with the much disputed affair of the scourging of a citizen of Novum Comum by the consul Marcellus in 51 B.C.; a description by Asconius of Pompeius Strabo's settlement of Transpadane Gaul in 89 B.C.; and a fragmentary section of the inscription commonly known as the *Lex Acilia de Repetundis* of 122 B.C.<sup>16</sup>

It is best to take up this inscription first, as it is earlier than the other evidence and is usually considered to be the clinching evidence for grants of citizenship *per magistratum* in the second century. The pertinent provisions of the law are those which deal with the rewards to be given to accusers in cases which were prosecuted successfully.<sup>17</sup> The text throughout is fragmentary, but the first two paragraphs, entitled *De Ceivitate Danda*, clearly refer to the granting of Roman citizenship to successful non-Roman accusers. There is no indication, and I believe that no one has ever suggested, that this was in any way restricted to the Latins; it must have included all those given the right of accusation in section 1, namely, allies, the Latin Name and foreigners. These recipients of citizenship also obtain immunity from military service and remission of taxes. These must have been Roman service and Roman taxes; at least there is no room for a restoration which would specify otherwise.<sup>18</sup> The next section, entitled *De Provocatione Vocationeque Danda*, deals with these

(i.e., the right of appeal and relief from military service and taxation) as alternate rewards for those who do not wish Roman citizenship. That any should be so inclined may at first glance be surprising, but we may compare with this the bill introduced by Fulvius Flaccus, the consul of 125, to grant Roman citizenship to the Italians and *provocatio* to those who did not want citizenship.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, it is not at all clear just to whom this section of the *Lex Acilia* applies. It begins *Sei quis eorum quei* and then breaks off; then there is a lacuna in which Mommsen reckons there was space for 83 letters. The text resumes with a fragmentary word ending in *-eor* or *-or*, then *praetor aedilisve non fuerint*. Mommsen fills this space (but only partially, with over twenty letters still to be supplied) to make the clause apply to those of Latin status, who have not held the office of dictator, praetor, or aedile in their own cities.<sup>20</sup> On this interpretation, the alternate rewards go only to Latins and then not to the ex-magistrates among them, since they already had, he believed, gained the right of *provocatio* by becoming Roman citizens. Now this is the passage, or rather the restoration, which is generally accepted as conclusive proof of the grant of Roman citizenship *per magistratum* in the second century.<sup>21</sup> But we must remember that the restoration itself was suggested by a belief in such grants combined with the mention in the text of praetor, aedile and especially dictator, which seems to have been an office held in Latin but not in allied towns. However the restoration of dictator is highly uncertain. Only the last three letters remain and in the first edition of the *CIL*, published in 1863, Mommsen, while printing *ror* in his text, stated in his apparatus that the tablet read *-eor*, and he himself had inspected it in the Naples Museum.<sup>22</sup> In Ritschel's reproduction of 1862, based on several transcriptions, the *ε* is evident.<sup>23</sup> Later, in his monograph *Lex Repetundarum*, Mommsen does not mention the *ε* but

says in his apparatus that the  $\tau$  is doubtful, apparently without having seen the tablet again.<sup>24</sup> In the second edition of the *CIL*, Lommatsch prints the  $\tau$  without comment, as do Bruns and Riccobono. But I submit that this  $\tau$  is hardly solid enough to serve as the foundation of the whole restoration and interpretation. Of course the main reason for rejecting the  $\epsilon$  is the difficulty of finding a word ending in  $\epsilon\text{OR}$  which would make sense here. There is, however, always the possibility that these letters are part of an  $\epsilon\text{ORUM}$ , since there is on the tablet following the  $\epsilon$  a blank space with room for two or three letters.<sup>25</sup> There is no time to go into the possible restorations, using either the  $\epsilon$  or the  $\tau$ ,<sup>26</sup> but I believe that I have said enough to show that Mommsen's restoration is not a conclusive proof of the grant of citizenship *per magistratum*. In general the section must allow the alternate rewards to all successful accusers with the exception of certain ex-magistrates, be they Latins only or both Latins and allies.<sup>27</sup>

Now we must examine this exception and see what it means, logically. Why should these ex-magistrates not be granted *provocatio* as an alternate reward? As we have seen, the common answer is that they already have this as one of the aspects of the Roman citizenship which they received for holding the magistracy. But if they were already Roman citizens, why should they be mentioned here at all, since this section obviously refers to non-citizens and rewards for Romans seem to have been defined later in the law (88). The very fact that they are referred to in this section indicates to me that they were *not* Roman citizens. It indicates further, however, that they had attained a status different from that of their fellow citizens. Logically, as suggested by Rosenberg over twenty years ago, this status must have been that of having received, by virtue of their office, the right of appeal to the Roman people.<sup>28</sup> This would not be surprising, for it was the insolence and arbitrary actions of

Roman magistrates which fanned allied anger, and in the most notorious instances the victims were magistrates in allied towns, as we know from the examples given in a fragment of a speech of C. Gracchus.<sup>29</sup> The grant of *provocatio* to magistrates would eliminate the most flagrant cases, and this may well have been done for the Latins first.<sup>30</sup> This, in fact, seems to be the only interpretation of the passage in the *Lex Acilia* which accounts for the mention of these ex-magistrates in a section dealing with non-Romans and yet their exemption from the reward of *provocatio*.

Another strong argument against there being in this section a presumption of the grant of Roman citizenship *per magistratum* is the fact that at least two offices, those of praetor and aedile, are mentioned. Although in various Latin and allied towns the name of the supreme office varied, and either of these could be the highest, yet in some both offices existed. Ordinarily magistrates in allied towns must have gone through a progression of offices, as at Rome.<sup>31</sup> Yet if the reward for the holding of a lower office, say aedile, were Roman citizenship, the holding of a higher office would have been barred, if we can believe Cicero in his denial of double citizenship. And that Cicero was right is proved by the very existence of alternate rewards in this law. For if there were no disadvantages in the acceptance of Roman citizenship, why make provision for its rejection? And, since with the Roman citizenship went exemption from Roman taxes and military service, what possible disadvantage could there have been except the cutting off of the recipient from the political life of his own town?<sup>32</sup> There are none that I can think of and so I believe that we must conclude that the provisions of the *Lex Acilia*, far from proving the existence of Roman citizenship *per magistratum*, show clearly that it did not exist in 122 B.C.

The next piece of evidence bearing on the whole question is a confused and corrupt comment of Asconius on Cic-

ero's speech against Piso.<sup>33</sup> While wondering how the orator could call Placentia a *municipium*, the commentator tells of its settlement in 218 and adds, among other things, that it was not founded as the Transpadane colonies were by Pompeius Strabo. Of this arrangement he says: *Pompeius enim non novis colonis eas constituit sed veteribus incolis manentibus ius dedit Latii, ut possent habere ius quod ceterae Latinae coloniae, id est ut † petendi † [petendo, Clark] magistratus civitatem Romanam adipiscerentur*. At first glance this may seem to be a clear statement that the grant of Roman citizenship *per magistratum* existed at the time of the Social War. We know from Pliny (*N. H.* 3. 138) that Pompeius passed a law, undoubtedly during his consulship in 89, regulating the Transpadane region, and it is clear that according to Asconius' source the main point of that law was to grant the *ius Latii*. There is no reason to doubt this, but there is certainly a question as to whether the source, or Asconius himself, emphasized that the main element of this *ius Latii* was the granting of citizenship to magistrates. It is far more likely that it was Asconius, who has a tendency to supply what sometimes seems to be almost gratuitous information. In this very section he adds an explanation of the difference between Latin and Roman colonies. Furthermore, he seems to be thinking here of his own time, the first century after Christ;<sup>34</sup> this is implied by the wording of the explanatory clause, "that is, that they might obtain Roman citizenship by seeking office." The key word is "seeking," *petendo*. The manuscripts here are obviously corrupt; two of them read *petendi*, the other *peti*.<sup>35</sup> There have been many emendations. Sigonius printed *petendi magistratus gratia*. A. Augustinus suggested *gerendo magistratus* and this is printed by Kiessling and Schoell. Buecheler read *per magistratus* and from this emendation comes the ordinary name of the practice. But Clark's change of one letter, to *petendo magistratus*, seems much simpler and

most acceptable. The main objection to this is that it was by serving in the office, and not by seeking it, that one obtained the reward of citizenship. However, Asconius might well confuse the two if he was thinking of his own time, when often, it seems, seeking the office was tantamount to obtaining it. At least so it appears from chapter 61 of the *Lex Municipii Malacitani*, dated between 82 and 84 A.D., which deals in detail with arrangements for the drafting of candidates when too few were seeking office.<sup>36</sup> Therefore it seems most likely that we have here no firm evidence for the granting of citizenship *per magistratum* in 89 B.C. Rather, Asconius, finding a mention of the *ius Latii* in his source, expanded on it in terms of his own time. He undoubtedly thought his comment valid for 89 B.C., or even earlier, but this is certainly not the overwhelming and unquestionable evidence we need to overthrow Cicero's denial of the possibility of double citizenship and the support given this denial by the most reasonable interpretation of the pertinent passages of the *Lex Acilia*.

The third body of evidence pertaining to the question consists of a group of passages relevant to the beating administered publicly in 51 B.C. by the consul Marcellus to a citizen of Caesar's colony of Novum Comum in Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>37</sup> The circumstances are not clear, but it is generally agreed that Marcellus' action was meant to indicate that the inhabitants of Novum Comum were not to be considered Roman citizens in spite of some act of Caesar's. The sources disagree on just what the man's status was. Appian (*B. C.* 2. 26) is quite clear in stating that Novum Comum was a Latin colony, that the victim had been a magistrate and so was a Roman citizen, saying specifically *tóde gár ischúei tò Látion*. Plutarch (*Caesar* 29) states that Marcellus and his friends were trying to take away citizenship from Novum Comum and beat one of their senators to indicate it. Suetonius (*Julius* 28), although not mentioning this incident directly, also refers to

Marcellus' attempt to take citizenship away from this town. Furthermore, we have a cryptic and corrupt reference to this event in one of the letters of Cicero, written from Athens in July, 51, apparently a comment on Atticus' account of the affair (*Ad Att.* 5.11.2). It reads as follows: *Marcellus foede in Comensi. Etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus stomachi nostro quam Caesari fecisse.* The meaning of the second sentence is not clear. The combination of the perfect subjunctive and the imperfect indicative has bothered the editors, most of whom print, with no manuscript authority, the pluperfect *gesserat*, which is then usually taken to mean that the man had not been a magistrate.<sup>38</sup> But Tyrrell and Purser, although they print *gesserat*, interpret it as meaning "even supposing him not to have been a magistrate,"<sup>39</sup> indicating that there may have been some doubt as to his status, but that Cicero's point is that this did not really matter, since Marcellus' action was disgraceful in itself and was politically foolish, as he implies by stating that it seemed directed as much at Pompey (described as *noster*) as at Caesar. To me this certainly seems to be the right explanation, although I think that we must retain the manuscript reading of the subjunctive to get it.<sup>40</sup> But however this may be, the very fact that Cicero mentions the holding of a magistracy as one of the points at issue is usually taken as proof of the grant of Roman citizenship *per magistratum* at this time. This is, of course, what Appian says, and although Hardy has made an excellent case that Appian was basically wrong in his account of the circumstances of the affair,<sup>41</sup> no one questions his statement on these grants of citizenship. But his whole misconception of the circumstances is best explained by his thinking of such grants in terms of his own day; that he is doing just this is made clear by his use of the present tense when he says, "the Latin status has this right." But if, then, Latin magistrates did not get

citizenship, why did Cicero raise this point? It is most likely that the answer is the same as that forced upon us by the interpretation of the provisions of the *Lex Acilia*, that such magistrates were granted the right of appeal.<sup>42</sup> If this was the case, then Marcellus certainly acted disgracefully in having the man beaten for no known offense and certainly without a trial.<sup>43</sup>

This interpretation can not, of course, be insisted upon. We might begin a recapitulation by admitting the possibility that for the Transpadanes of Latin status the practice of granting Roman citizenship to magistrates was introduced by Pompeius in 89, as Savigny suggested long ago.<sup>44</sup> This might have been a logical time, when most of the Latins were getting citizenship in the settlement of the Social War, and perhaps Cicero, in his denial of the possibility of a double citizenship, could have passed over it as an exception. However, I think this most unlikely, since the Latins are specifically referred to as *foederati* in the same speech, and I believe that we must take Cicero's statement at face value, for we certainly have not found the overwhelming and unquestionable evidence needed to refute it. In fact one of the main props in the case against it, the *Lex Acilia*, has been found rather to support it, when analyzed. The other two elements in the case, Asconius and the accounts of the affair of the citizen of Novum Comum, can be explained with no violence to the evidence. Therefore it is the most reasonable conclusion that the granting of Roman citizenship to Latin magistrates did not take place in Republican times but was, as we really should expect, a development of the Empire.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This paper, in abbreviated form, was read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Austin, Texas, on April 11, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 221-22.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., H. H. Scullard, *A History of the*

*Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* (New York, 1939) p. 139; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford, 1939) pp. 105-106, and  *OCD*, s.v. *ius Latii*; Steinwenter, *RE*, s.v. *ius Latii*. Most influential in forming the present opinion is Mommsen's discussion in *Roemisches Staatsrecht*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1887) pp. 639-41, although he is here much more cautious than elsewhere in that he suggests that magistrates had to renounce their own citizenship to get that of Rome. The only disagreement which I find is in F. F. Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions* (London, 1901) p. 248; he is not quite clear but seems to state that only those Latin magistrates who moved to Rome could get citizenship.

<sup>4</sup> *Studia Romana* (Berlin, 1859) pp. 352-65.

<sup>5</sup> *Staatsrecht*, vol. 3, pp. 638-40. The date is that of the founding of Ariminum, which Mommsen considers to have been the first of twelve colonies with lesser rights than the earlier Latin colonies had. He sees in the grant of citizenship to magistrates a substitute for the *ius migrationis*. However, E. T. Salmon, "Roman Colonisation from the Second Punic War to the Gracchi," *JRS* 26 (1936) 47-67, has proposed a much more acceptable solution of the problem of the twelve colonies and the *ius Ariminum*, showing that their status was superior, rather than inferior, to that of other Latins.

<sup>6</sup> "La Politica delle Colonie e Città Latine nella Guerra Sociale," *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 86 (1953) 45-63.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 225.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL* II, no. 1963. For the basic text and commentary see Mommsen, "Die Stadtrechte der Lateinischen Gemeinden Salpensa und Malaca," *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1905) pp. 267-382.

<sup>9</sup> See Zumpt (above, note 4) pp. 267-332 and 354-56. He sees in this charter the constitution of a *municipium* composed of both Roman citizens and Latins and takes section 21 as granting permission to Latins to stand for office if there are not enough Roman candidates. Such an interpretation can hardly be accepted, since to sustain it Zumpt must interpret the first surviving word in the inscription, *abierint*, as "(have left their homes in the countryside and) reside in the city," with the main point being their residence in the city.

<sup>10</sup> *Staatsrecht*, vol. 3, p. 642.

<sup>11</sup> *Pro Balbo* 28: *duarum civitatum civis noster esse iure civili nemo potest*.

<sup>12</sup> Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, vol. 3, p. 641, does imply it by stating that the ex-magistrates would have a choice of accepting or refusing Roman citizenship. However, in his interpretation of and comment on the *Lex Aelia* he seems to forget this; see *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, p. 62.

<sup>13</sup> *Les Édits d'Auguste Découverts à Cyrène* (Louvain & Paris, 1940) p. 110, note 2. For a review of the controversy see De Visscher, "La Dualité des Droits de Cité et la 'Mutatio Civitatis'," *Bull. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belg., Classe des Lettres*, 5th series, 40 (1954) 49-67 and the bibliography there assembled; the most important recent work upholding Mommsen's traditional view is V. Arangio-Ruiz, "Sul Problema della Doppia Cittadinanza," *Scritti Giuridici in Onore di F. Carnelutti*, vol. 4 (Padova, 1950) pp. 53-77. De Visscher's arguments against the application of Cicero's rule to citizens not native-born are rather strained and ineffective. Although, as he states, Cicero's examples are of native-born

Romans, the orator's whole point is that the same standards apply to Balbus, a native of Gades.

<sup>14</sup> *Pro Balbo* 54: *Latinis, id est foederatis* . . .

<sup>15</sup> (Above, note 6) pp. 51-52.

<sup>16</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2, no. 563; Bruns, *Fontes*, 7th ed., no. 10; Riccobono, *Fontes*, 2nd ed., no. 7; Mommsen, "Lex Repetundarum," *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, pp. 1-64, which is a revised version of his text and commentary in *CIL* I, no. 198.

<sup>17</sup> See sections 76-79 and 83-86; the latter sections are part of a long repetition which seems to have been an error of the engraver and probably was the reason for the bronze having been discarded and then inscribed again on the reverse with a *Lex Agraria*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. section 79, where such a grant to non-Romans is modified by *in sua quousque civitate*; there is no room for such a phrase in 77.

<sup>19</sup> Val. Max. 9. 5. 1: *cum perniciosissimas rei publicae leges introduceret de civitate danda et de provocacione ad populum eorum qui civitatem mutare noluissent*. The text of all manuscripts save one read *vouissent* for the last word, but if this were correct, there would have been no reason to mention *provocatio* separately, since it is certainly part of *civitas*; see Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, pp. 45 and 62-63. His text reads: *Sei quis eorum, qui [nominis Latini sunt. . . .] qui eorum in sua quisque civitate dicta-] tor praetor aedilisve non fuerint*. The text given in *Staatsrecht*, vol. 3, p. 634, note 2, is very deceptive in that the dots are missing, giving the impression that the restoration fits exactly.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Sherwin-White (above, note 3) p. 105.

<sup>22</sup> *CIL* I, pp. 50 and 71.

<sup>23</sup> F. Ritschel, *Priscae Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica* (Berlin, 1862) pp. 26-27 and Plate XXIV.

<sup>24</sup> *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup> The reason for this is not at all clear. There is in section 22 a space for about nine letters, but this seems to have been caused by a bad place in the bronze; see Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, p. 31. Another space in section 74 seems to have been left for an *ex* which might be expected in the text, since it is followed by *hac lege*.

<sup>26</sup> It is not too difficult to fill the space if we discard the notion that only the Latins should be mentioned. I might suggest the following as possibilities: *sei quis eorum qui [ceveis Romani non sunt] queve socii nominisve Latini sunt et in sua civitate quisque] eor[um] praetor . . .* or *sei quis eorum qui [ceveis Romani non sunt] queve nominis Latini sunt et in sua quisque civitate dicta-]tor praetor . . .*

<sup>27</sup> I can see no reason why these alternate rewards, unlike the reward of citizenship, should go only to the Latins. Tilleti, (above, note 6) p. 46, thinks that it seems not to have been contemplated that non-Latins should refuse and that if they did they probably received nothing, but he gives no reasons why they should react differently from the Latins or why the Romans should have treated them differently.

<sup>28</sup> "Die Entstehung des Sogenannten Foedus Cassianum und des Lateinischen Rechts," *Hermes* 55 (1920) 347-48. This article, which is excellent on many points of the Latin rights, has apparently received little attention because of the



inacceptability of its main thesis, that the *Foedus Cassianum* must be dated between 287 and 268 B.C.

<sup>29</sup> In Gellius, *N. A.* 10. 3. 3. The towns mentioned are Teanum Sidicinum and Ferentinum, which were not Latin colonies, although it is stated that one of these, Cales, took precautions. See Sherwin-White (above, note 3) pp. 126-27 for the view that events of this sort and resentment against the *imperium* of Roman magistrates were the main cause of the Social War. For the thesis that business interests among the upper classes in allied states were the motivating force see E. Gabba, "Le Origini della Guerra Sociale e La Vita Politica Romana dopo l'89 A.C.," *Athenaeum* 32 (1954) 41-114 and 293-345.

<sup>30</sup> We should remember, too, that Livius Drusus in effect proposed giving *provocatio* to all Latins as an alternative to Gaius Gracchus' citizenship proposal; Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 9. 3. Cf. M. Caspari, "On the Rogatio Liviae de Latinis," *CQ* 5 (1911) 115-18.

<sup>31</sup> See the *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* (Bruns, *Fontes*, 7th ed., no. 8), which is certainly of the second century B.C. and in section 6 sets up a *cursus honorum* of quaestor, praetor and censor.

<sup>32</sup> Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, p. 62, speaks of "beneficium illud cum invidia coniunctum," with a reference to Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 57, where it is stated that there were objections to Balbus' having got citizenship in a certain tribe as a reward for prosecution. But it is clear from the tenor of the whole passage that these objections came from Romans and political enemies of Pompey (cf. 59). This is a far different situation from that of a Latin remaining in his own town.

<sup>33</sup> Q. Asconius Pedianus, ed. A. Kiessling and R. Schoell (Berlin, 1875) pp. 2-3; ed. A. C. Clark (Oxford, 1907) pp. 2-3; ed. C. Giarrantano (Rome, 1924) p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> For the evidence on the date, see Kiessling-Schoell, pp. V-VIII.

<sup>35</sup> For the manuscript readings and the emendations see the apparatus in the editions mentioned above, note 33.

<sup>36</sup> *CIL* II, no. 1964; Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* vol. 1, pp. 272-73. This is the ordinary view taken of the passage, although Sherwin-White (above, note 3) pp. 198-99, thinks that the provisions were an unnecessary precaution.

<sup>37</sup> The evidence is conveniently assembled in

Hardy, *Some Problems in Roman History* (Oxford, 1924) pp. 126-28.

<sup>38</sup> The *gesserat* is printed in the editions of J. Billerbeck (Hannover, 1836); R. Klotz—A. Wesenberg (Teubner, 1892); L. Purser (Oxford, 1903). The manuscript reading is retained by I. Boot (Amsterdam, 1865) and H. Sjögren (Upsala, 1916).

<sup>39</sup> *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. 3, 2nd ed. (London, 1914) p. 48.

<sup>40</sup> It appears to me that *gesserat* would state flatly that the man had not been a magistrate, as it is taken by Hardy (above, note 37) p. 137: "But if Appian had known, as we do, that the man had not held a magistracy . . ."; and p. 144, note 1: "We know from Cicero's words that he had not held one." Hardy is, however, scarcely justified in making such statements on the basis of an emendation. I can see no reason to reject a unanimous manuscript reading, especially when it is the more unusual form. The use of the perfect subjunctive can be explained, especially in a letter, by realizing that the man is still a Transpadane, even though Cicero used *erat* as more vivid.

<sup>41</sup> (Above, note 37) pp. 136-37. His main point is that all we know of the affair seems to point to Novum Comum having been made a Roman colony by the *Lex Vatinia*, which was considered to have been illegal by Marcellus. Thus the colony reverted, in his eyes, to the Latin status, which made important the question of whether the citizen had been a magistrate. For the view that Appian was right, see J. S. Reid, "On Some Questions of Roman Law," *JRS* 1 (1911) 68-77. The problem is an interesting one which can probably never be settled to everyone's satisfaction. Even if Appian was right and Novum Comum was only a Latin colony, it still would not affect the question of citizenship *per magistratum*, as the explanation I offer in the text would fit that situation as well.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 224.

<sup>43</sup> See Caspari (above, note 30) p. 118, who points out that *foede* is too strong a word to apply to an action which is only politically foolish and that Cicero must have been condemning Marcellus for breaking some law. He thinks this to have been rogation of Livius Drusus on the Latins.

<sup>44</sup> *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1850) pp. 298-99.



## we see by the papers editor GRAVES H. THOMPSON

### HORACE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

A dispatch from London appearing in various American papers was turned to good account by the editor of the Richmond (Va.) News Leader, a strong friend of the Classics, in his issue of November 6, 1958:

AS HORACE SO APTLY SAID—

It was a glorious moment for latter-day lovers of Latin the other day, when a parliamentary secretary in the House of Commons skewered a heckler on a Latin phrase. The incident arose when a Labor member, one Marcus Lipton, angrily denounced the Ministry of Agriculture for presenting a gold-plated hot dog to British sausage manufacturers as a token of good will from American packers. Asking what "all this tomfoolery" had to do with the Ministry's official duties, he demanded of Secretary J. B. Godbar just how he got involved in such "farical fun and games."

"Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem," responded Mr. Godbar gently. "Dulce est desipere in loco." And presumably he left it to the Right Honorable Gentleman to read the Odes of Horace [IV, 12, 27-28] for himself, and there to discover the sound advice that sage counsels are best tempered with humor, and that now and then it is good for solemn men to put aside solemnity.

The story would have been improved, of course, if the irritated Laborite had snapped back with Pliny's admonition [35. 36. 85] about the shoemaker and his last, *Ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret*, but that would have been asking entirely too much.

Certainly it would have been asking too much on this side of the water. The unhappy truth is that the classic adornments which once added grace and dignity to public debate have all but vanished in the fog of illiteracy that hangs over this Republic. A society so engrossed in plunging forward (or plunging somewhere) has little inclination ever to glance behind.

It was not always thus. Thomas Jefferson regarded the reading of Latin and Greek in the original as "a sublime luxury," and found "innocent enjoyment" in debating the

existence of the ablative case in Greek. He once discoursed on the survival of the Greek upsilon by recalling that in his youth, the county next to Albemarle [Louisa] was universally called Lovisa.

Jefferson's contemporaries shared his enthusiasm for the classics. During that historic Convention of 1788, Henry, Corbin, Madison, and Lee devoted hours to comparing the proposed new Union to the Amphictyonic federation that once bound Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. And Monroe, tracing the rise of the Achaean League, read directly from Polybius and translated as he went along.

Well, there were giants in those days. We haven't had a President since Wilson who could master a word of more than five syllables, and the last Senator of any perceptible literacy was Beveridge of Kentucky. Debate in the House of Representatives is conducted at a level four floors beneath the conclaves of Kiwanis. . . .

Let us fire a small salute, if you please, to the surviving J. B. Godbars in the House of Commons. There aren't many of them left.

### WILLIAM AND MARY RECEIVES 1772 LATIN ESSAY

Further evidence of the part played by the Classics in education during the formative days of the American Republic is found in a dispatch from Williamsburg, Va., printed in the November 14 issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch:

THE ORIGINAL Latin manuscript of a student essay by St. George Tucker has been given to the College of William and Mary.

The manuscript, dated May 21, 1772, was presented by Mrs. George Preston Coleman of Williamsburg, [whose husband was a descendant of Tucker]. It is on display in the college library, together with a translation prepared by Dr. Talbot Selby, associate professor of ancient languages.

The essay, entitled "Carthago Delenda Est (Carthage Must Be Destroyed)," deals with

the grievances of the colonists in their relations with Great Britain. It is believed that the essay was written in accordance with the faculty order early in 1772 that "students in the philosophy schools shall speak Latin declamations, of their own compositions."

The manuscript is the earliest example of a student essay in the college archives.

Tucker was graduated from the college in 1772 and became a professor of law at William and Mary. In 1803 he published an American edition of Blackstone's Commentaries on the English Common Law, a volume recognized as the first American textbook on the law. . . .

### SCIENCE TEACHER URGES MORE LATIN AND GREEK

*Another argument for the Classics as basic to education appeared in a letter to the editor of the Boston Globe (October 7). The clipping came from John E. Rexine of Colgate University.*

TO THE EDITOR—As a student and teacher of science during the past 30 years, I have become firmly convinced that our real need today in our high schools and colleges is not the study of more science and modern languages (as useful as these may be) but a more thorough and up-to-date study of the two basic languages upon which our English language as well as our western culture are based—Latin and Greek.

In teaching science, I find that the greatest drawback in getting ideas across to students is their lack of knowledge of these languages and the part they play in the understanding of science as well as the humanities.

Even the Russian alphabet depends upon the Greek language, as a cursory observation of Russian letters will show, because Greek monks developed the Russian alphabet during the Middle Ages.

In order to make our students progress in science and the humanities, to the point where we outstrip the Russians, I believe we must give them a good grounding in the languages which have made modern science possible—Latin and Greek.

The reason that the West has been going around in circles during the past 50 years, and has been the target of scorn and even hatred among non-Western peoples, is the fact that we have abandoned the roots and foundations of our Western Civilization and have imported so many foreign and incon-

gruous elements in our culture that we have actually lost our intellectual bearings.

GEORGE F. STEFFANIDES

### GREEK DRAMA IN MODERN OPERA

*A concert performance of Richard Strauss' "Elektra" moved The New Yorker's music critic to this comment (March 15, 1958):*

AMONG COMPOSERS who use the perennial themes of ancient Greek drama and mythology as a basis for their work, it has lately become fashionable to depict these subjects behind a veil of exoticism that emphasizes their archaic quality, making the personages of the drama seem to inhabit an ideal world, as different as possible from the one we live in. Countless modern settings of Greek material by French composers (not to mention Stravinsky, whose "Oedipus Rex" may be taken as typical) present this curiously detached, remote, and, so to speak, archeological view of Greek life, in which the Greeks appear to be a race of marble figures performing strange formal rituals in an ancient frieze. Such an approach, however fashionable it may be, is a highly mannered and artificial one, and most of the works that derive from it have a bloodless, arty atmosphere that prevents the kindling of any human sympathy for what is taking place on the stage.

Richard Strauss's "Elektra," it seems to me, stands out among all other recent works based on classical Greek sources precisely because it avoids this approach. Offhand, one would say that nothing could be more un-Greek than the highly charged, emotional, post-Wagnerian, and very unexotic music Strauss wrote for this Sophoclean drama. And yet I cannot help thinking that Strauss, with his hair-raising climaxes and unabashed melodrama, got closer to the spirit of Greek tragedy than any composer now living is likely to get. The work is by far the nobler of his two popular unpleasant operas—the other one, of course, being "Salome." It is nobler because, for one thing, the score has greater dignity, but also because Sophocles' heroine is an eminently human and heart-rending figure, driven to terrible revenge by fatal, and quite understandable, motives; she is not, like Oscar Wilde's Salome, a perversely neurotic child but a normal woman deranged by irresistible forces surrounding her, and though one follows her actions with horror, one is simultaneously moved by

pity for the throbbing, vital female personality that is entangled, through no fault of its own, in the most terrible of crimes.

I have, in my time, heard many loud, thrashing, and superficially imposing Elektras. I have heard very few, however, who conveyed the pitiable womanly side of Elektra's character as subtly as Inge Borkh did in Carnegie Hall last week, when Dimitri Mitropoulos revived the opera in concert form with the New York Philharmonic. All the steaming intensity that Strauss demands from his heroine was there, but Miss Borkh managed to add a very unusual degree of depth to the portrait, sensing and projecting the potentially gentle aspects of Elektra's nature, and thus making her mania for vengeance truly tragic. While, as a job of singing, her performance of the exceedingly taxing music was impressive enough, what made her interpretation memorable was the extraordinary insight she brought to the dramatic side of her portrayal—the way she depicted the love that lay behind Elektra's hatred, the kernel of tenderness within the shell of brutality. At moments when this inner element of femininity is allowed full play—as in the magnificent music of the "recognition" scene, with Orestes—she really tore at the hearts of her audience, and, indeed, throughout the evening she sustained a note of humanity that gave the opera its full stature as a great work of art. . . .

#### SOLON CITED IN DECISION

Judge Sterling Hutcheson, in his August decision delaying integration in Prince Edward County, Virginia, schools until 1965, referred to the Athenian lawgiver Solon as one who employed "deliberate speed." Judge Hutcheson's words, as quoted in part or in full by the U.S. News & World Report (August 15) and other journals of the day:

DESPITE THE GREAT ADVANCES made in scientific and technical knowledge we have no evidence upon which to base a belief that in accepting new theories of social or moral reform the modern human mind is any more adaptable than that of the Athenian of 500 B.C. The knowledge of preceding generations can be preserved in writings but wisdom cannot be transmitted by inheritance. It must be acquired by experience.

In dealing with problems accompanying such reforms we must look to the teachings of history if we are to avoid treacherous shoals. History affords many lessons we would do well to heed.

We find that following the adoption of his code of laws, Solon, in order to afford a period for its acceptance by the people and to avoid importunities for interpretation, modification, etc., absented himself for ten years during which he visited foreign countries. Upon his return, there yet remained much to be done. [Footnote] Plutarch relates that: "And, therefore, when he (Solon) was afterwards asked if he had left the Athenians the best laws that could be given, he replied, 'The best they could receive.'"

#### PRESS AGENTS, TRAFFIC PROBLEMS, HIGH PRICES, PARKING

*Times change, but not much, as this assortment of nugae bears witness. The first is from Mrs. Ernestine F. Leon of the University of Texas. It appeared in Neal O'Hara's column in the Austin Statesman, November 8, as a "thought while shaving."*

. . . WE'D LIKE to guess that the first fellow to appreciate the work of a good press agent was Alexander the Great, who, standing at the tomb of Achilles, cried out: "O fortunate youth, to have had Homer as the herald of your fame!" (Alex didn't do so badly himself, though, as the centuries after him unfolded.)

Associated Press dispatch from Los Angeles, in the September 22 Richmond News Leader:

Tired of high prices and heavy traffic?

Well, Dr. Edward O'Neil of the University of Southern California offers some translated passages from Juvenal, a Roman satirist, to show the same problems existed 1,800 years ago.

"Hurry as we may," wrote Juvenal of traffic, "we are hemmed in by a surging crowd in front and a dense throng of people pressing from the rear. . . . You can be considered foolish if you go out to dinner without your will made."

On the cost of living: "People whose poverty stands in their way find it hard to rise; but at Rome the attempt is still harder. Here you must pay a big rent for a miserable house. In Rome everyone dresses above his means."

From Time, August 4:

S.P.Q.-Hour. In Miami Beach, a 1,600-year-old Roman coin was collected from a parking meter.

# BOOK REVIEWS

editor VERNE B. SCHUMAN

**Homer and the Heroic Tradition**, by CEDRIC H. WHITMAN. Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xii, 365; chart. \$6.75.

STUDENTS OF HOMER should be grateful to Cedric Whitman for this work, new and refreshing in approach and content, in its avoidance of animus and polemic. Whitman's book allows us to hope that now the study of Homer has finally reached a level of sanity which can only do credit to critic and poet alike.

In this work one discovers a judicious mind, a sensitive reading of Homer's poetry and a wide range of scholarly competence. Whitman is a unitarian neither naive nor assertive, who sets as his task to show "the intuitive, poetic logic of the *Iliad*," the cohesiveness which gives it its force. His argument is from design: the hand of a master with skilful deployment of formulaic speech has imposed upon traditional material an inner unity of structure and imagistic consistency. Less stressed at the outset but emerging as a major thesis is the view that the unity of the *Iliad* derives from a conception of heroism (p. 14) which can only be a personal and individual one. Whitman's own basic position is clear; he also insists rightly, that the proper study of Homer involves several disciplines. He shows the important contribution to be made to Homeric studies by archeologist and linguist as well as anthropologist, folklorist *et alii*. He hopes less to extract a conclusion — the state of our knowledge is not yet sufficient — than to find a "justifiable attitude, an honest approach, from the detailed findings of specialized researches, with all their doubts, reservations, and scientific suspension of judgment."

Whitman properly holds in high esteem Milman Parry's contribution to our understanding of the oral nature of Homeric verse. But Parry's findings are only the beginning of Whitman's analysis of Homeric style and composition. To Parry Homer was a most skilful singer whose style is traditional and basically indistinguishable from that of any other contemporary singer; individuality of style, the particular color of the oral poet's thought, cannot exist in a purely traditional and formulaic mode of expression. Although Whitman does not explore deeply the meanings of in-

dividuality of style, he does argue that a poet's intention in his work identifies him; the *Iliad* is the creation of the poet even if Homer did not invent a single phrase, character, or episode. How and why Homer was so skilful are hard questions, but with the help of modern analogues, informed aesthetic analysis, and an increasingly sound historical framework for literary criticism, one can see a little into the problems.

Having taken this stand, Whitman proceeds to the two parts of the main body of his book: (1) Chapters II-V, largely historical-archeological and (2) Chapters VI-XI, literary, critical and interpretive. The first part does not claim to be original; its special merit lies in the assembling and sifting of the most important evidence and theories for the historical background of the poems. Here is a serious effort to digest a mass of extremely involved material and to present it as a vital part of the critic's thought.

Chapter II, The Memory of the Achaeans, gives an uncluttered account of the major evidence for the history of the Bronze Age in Hellas. There are questionable points in Whitman's treatment of this controversial period, but he argues convincingly that Homer gives us the "truest history of the Mycenaean Age." Chapter III, Athens 1200-700, is a fine marshaling of archeological, linguistic, artistic and legendary-traditional evidence to support the thesis that "Athens, and not Ionia, was the cradle of Greek epic, after the fall of the Achaean states" (p. 58). The extraordinary continuity of civilization at Athens is properly stressed; the opposite side of the coin — that there was a significant break in Ionian civilization — is less completely supported by evidence. The argument from ceramics and vase-painting at Athens is of greater moment: the suggestion is made that the originality in the handling of traditional material in pottery parallels Homer's handling of old Achaean heroic tales. Whitman does not claim Homer for an Athenian; but, like Peitho, lures his reader to his conviction that the distinguishing marks of Homer's poetry recur only in Attic poets: Homer's epic belongs to the cultural milieu of Athens. On the interlocking questions of writing, festivals and Peisistratus, Whitman

gives grounds for rejecting a 6th-century first edition of Homer, accounts for Atticisms by his thesis of a continuous epic tradition in Attica, and endorses Albert Lord's theory of a dictated text for reasons which seem in the present state of our knowledge consistent with both external and internal evidence. Whitman concludes that Homer's work shows "the unmistakable hallmarks of eighth-century art," and although his treatment of the vexed problem of long and short versions is limited, the strength of his argument lies in his next chapter on Homer and Geometric Art (Chapter V). Preparing the way for his extensive analysis of the geometric structure of the *Iliad* (pp. 249-84), Whitman stresses the relationship between the "High Geometric masterpieces" in vase painting and Homeric narrative. Indeed, it is Attic ware exclusively which is applicable. This comparison is illuminating, but Whitman perhaps presses the relationship too far; it might better be left as suggestive and analogous.

The major part of Whitman's book, in Chapters VI-XI, is devoted to Homer's poetic language and its relation to Homeric characters, notably Achilles, and a conception of the heroic which binds all into a profound unity. Whitman is most illuminating here as he analyzes and interprets the text. No reader can fail to be impressed by his sensitivity and his close acquaintance with the poem. He is not always so clear when he seeks to formulate or adapt poetic theory by way of generalization about Homeric style. For example his treatment of formulae as symbolic and imagistic—"a tremendous imagistic texture"—is not improved by Susanne Langer's (*Philosophy in a New Key*) observations on "symbolic transformation" (p. 105).

Starting from Parry's view of the formulae as traditional and functional, Whitman shows that they comprise, as it were, a poetic language of themselves. Oral epic is composed not of single words but of "units of poetry and song." One does not look for novelty of phrase in Homer but to his use of the formulaic poetic language which is itself innately imagistic. Homer's genius should reveal itself, as any creative genius does—in the use of the medium, the formulae, of which he has a staggering number available. Whitman proceeds to show how a single formula with its images may not only "underlie and mingle with the action but may externalize or objectify the internal states of characters and embrace a dramatic situation as a whole"—wind in the Nausicaa episode, light with Athene, and, most impressively of all, fire

which stretches from beginning to end of the *Iliad*, reflecting the progress of the main action. The chapter on Fire and Other Elements is especially convincing and suggestive of the relation of image both to action and to mood.

After a study of Homeric character and the tradition showing the consistent unity of the major characters as Homer's own creation, Whitman devotes an important chapter to Achilles. If the Wrath of Achilles is the center of artistic unification in the *Iliad*, then a comprehension of the character of Achilles will be essential to any interpretation of the *Iliad* as a whole. Whitman therefore gives a comprehensive treatment of the hero. The quarrel with Agamemnon lit a terrible fire, the "impetus of which drove Achilles from the simple assumptions of other princely heroes onto the path where heroism means the search for the dignity and meaning of self." The conflict lies in the opposing principles of personal integrity (honor) and loyalty to friends and the group. Homer refuses the easy answer; rather it is a tragic response where personal integrity in Achilles becomes almost divine, where integrity and life become irreconcilable, where only "honor from Zeus" is acceptable, but is at the same time incompatible with human life. The various stages of the evolution of the hero are convincingly presented. His treatment of the Embassy is exemplary save perhaps his assessment of Phoenix, who in my judgment loses his case at the last by stressing the gifts. In an effort to deal philosophically with Achilles' decision (in Book 16) to let Patroclus enter the battle, Whitman seems overcomplicated in his existentialism. I would prefer avoidance of such psychoanalytic terms as a "will-to-death" and a "life-wish" which confuse each other. Yet Whitman does penetrate deeply the dilemma of Achilles whose human compassion, touched by gentle Patroclus, is in conflict with his absolute moral judgment of integrity which isolates him from his fellow men. At the death of Patroclus Achilles' will is no longer divided: revenge, honor and death are now synonymous. Whitman sees, however, no transgression of the heroic code in the *aristeia* of Achilles (p. 213). The hero "feels free to ignore his sense of common humanity, and he does so for a while." Yet Whitman sees how entirely necessary are the last two books of the *Iliad* where Homer frames a new insight, and the character of Achilles achieves completeness. There is a shining vision of the heroic which widens into a real communion between Achilles and his fellow human beings. Such



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a curtailed account does no justice to Whitman's fully documented, fascinating revelation of Achilles' character. In his treatment of Achilles Whitman perhaps passes too lightly over his violence, and elsewhere he stresses too much the brutality of Agamemnon (Chapter VIII), but on the whole this analysis of the central character, especially as seen against Agamemnon, Patroclus, Hector and Paris, is the source of stimulating ideas and insights.

Interesting and helpful is the thesis that the gods are not only characters but may serve to externalize or objectify internal states. The gods like the human characters are refashioned, within the limits of their assigned spheres, to fit the poem. The chapter on Fate, Time and the Gods illustrates this view extensively. The relation of Zeus and Achilles is shown to be the most extended and subtle of all Homer's characterizations by divinity; yet Zeus is more than an identification with Achilles, for the Lord of Olympus continues to reflect the totality of things. "It is the intuitive levels of imagery and divine machinery in the *Iliad* which reveal its soundness as the work of a single mind" (p. 238). The main rôle of the gods is then as images of char-

acter, and beyond this the gods live a life of their own, constituting an imaginative extension of the context of human action.

The range and integration of Whitman's work appear in the penultimate chapter where all that precedes is used to explain the geometric structure of the *Iliad*. The pattern, schematically presented on a very useful chart, is impressive; the argument seeks to show "how the native oral devices of hysteron-proteron and ring composition, involving the balance of similarities and opposites, have been enlarged to provide a concentric design for an enormously expanded heroic poem" (p. 283). One may take exception to certain details of Whitman's arrangements, but the large pattern of the nine opening and nine closing books is strongly presented. Although the Doloneia does not fit his pattern, Whitman wisely does not reject it, preferring to entertain the possibility of inconcinnity. His analysis does assume, however, that the book divisions are not of Alexandrian origin but existed in Homer's own time.

An afterpiece not without merit is the last chapter on the *Odyssey*. It gives an excellent summary of the futility of the arguments adduced to show the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to be by different hands or from different eras. Yet the *Odyssey* is later. The fewer meaningful geometric relationships indicate the replacement of "pure geometricity" as a formal principle by the proto-Attic. As Whitman himself says in his preface, his book is almost wholly about the *Iliad*. My hope would be that he will wish to revise some of his thoughts on the *Odyssey* in a large and sympathetic treatment such as he has given the *Iliad*.

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Princeton University

**PATRISTICA**

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY of America Patristic Studies now presents us with five new dissertations, the titles of which, condensed and standardized in the interests of economy of space, are as follows:

88. St. Augustine, *De Natura Boni*, edited by Brother A. Anthony Moon, F.S.C. (1955). Pp. xvii, 277. \$3.50.
89. St. Augustine, *De Excidio Urbis Romae Sermo*, edited by Sister Marie Vianney O'Reilly, C.S.J. (1955). Pp. xvii, 95. \$1.25.
90. St. Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, edited by Rev. Liguori G. Müller, O.F.M. (1956). Pp. xix, 229. \$2.50.



91. St. Augustine, *De Dono Perseverantiae*, edited by Sister Mary Alphonsine Lesousky, O.S.U. (1956). Pp. xxii, 310. \$3.00.
92. St. Cyprian, *De Bono Patientiae*, edited by Sister M. George Edward Conway, S.S.J. (1957). Pp. xx, 193. \$2.50.

All conform to the same type, having a select bibliography, long introduction, Latin text with English translation *en face*, commentary and adequate indexes. The two ancient authors treated come within the province of this journal, but the works studied are, it should be said, of much greater interest to the theologian than to the classical scholar. Though each editor is a member of a religious order, the dissertations were produced under the direction of the Classics Department, not under the Divinity School.

Subject to the specific reservations hereafter stated, the quality appears adequate, if not brilliant. The strong interest in matters of vocabulary and rhetorical usages which is characteristic of previous items in the same series is once more exhibited in three of the dissertations but not in those of Father Müller and Sister Alphonsine. In two instances, the *De Excidio Urbis Romae Sermo* and the *De Haeresibus*, we have here the first translations into English.

In earlier reviews of similar dissertations I have expressed pleasure at encountering this type of assignment. The candidate for the doctorate is forced to confront many of the philological techniques he should master, and the result provides the scholarly world with a useful tool. I should, however, point out now that in selecting a document for such treatment care must be taken not to choose a work which involves the beginner in too big a problem. In this group there are two which might well tax the powers of a veteran. The *De Natura Boni*, for one, is the last of a series of anti-Manichaean polemics, so that its editor is necessarily entangled in far more than the work he is treating. In the case of the *De Dono Perseverantiae* the difficulty is even more acute, for not only is this also the last in the series of attacks upon the "Semipelagians" but this controversy involves the Pelagians themselves, likewise represented by a series of Augustinian works. Moreover, this treatise was originally composed as the second of two books of a single title, the first now being known as the *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum*. While there is need for an exhaustive study of both Manichaeism and "Semipelagianism" as wholes, it is doubtful whether an edition of one work in the series is the place for it.

For the Latin texts of the *De Haeresibus* and the *De Dono Perseverantiae* no critical text was available and therefore we are given a reprinting, modified only in spelling and punctuation, of the text printed originally by the Benedictines of St. Maur as long ago as 1688 and 1690, respectively. The variants provided by the Benedictines were in the first instance uniformly, and in the latter instance "usually" rejected, or so Sister Alphonsine says. For the *De Natura Boni*, however, the critical text of Joseph Zycha (Vienna Corpus, 1892) was used, with but two changes, and the same number of departures from the critical text of W. von Hartel (Vienna Corpus, 1868-1871) was made in the *De Bono Patientiae*. Thus, these four editors attempt little or no improvement of the existing texts.

In the case of the *De Excidio Urbis Romae Sermo* also there was no critical text available but Sister Marie has been at pains to provide us with one herself. A total of twenty manuscripts have been studied: Guelferbytanus 4096 (saec. ix) and Sangallensis 397 (saec. ix), which appear to be independent of each other and of families y of seven MSS (saec. xii-xv) and z of eleven (saec. xi-xv), as well as four early printed editions, the latest being the Maurist edition of 1685. Her handling of the mass of evidence on this small work, of which the text and apparatus can without crowding be printed on twelve pages, seems everywhere competent, and I should change at only one point: the word *ergo* in note 25 (p. 72) should not have been italicized. Readers unfamiliar with this work should be warned that while at first sight the document might seem to impinge sharply upon Roman history, there is here much less an account of the disaster of 410 than a typical Augustinian homily suggested by it.

To turn now to the introductions of the several volumes, mention should be made of the large attention given by Brother Anthony to such pertinent subjects as the problem of evil, Augustine's refutation of Manichaeism, a heresy once attractive to him, and other independent evidence on this strange religious belief. The extended introduction to the *De Dono Perseverantiae* is devoted chiefly to the "Semipelagian" controversy. It might have been improved a little, had the author, in dealing with the part played in it by Vincent of Lérins, taken into account the excellent edition of his *Commonitorium* by R. S. Moxon (Cambridge, 1915) and the important book by the Spanish Jesuit, José Madoz, *El concepto de la tradición en S. Vicente de Lerins* (Rome, 1933). The introduction to the *De Bono Patientiae* carefully analyzes its con-

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tent in relation both to its precursor, the *De Patientia* of Tertullian, which Cyprian seems to have followed in quite a number of places, and its successor, the *De Patientia* of Augustine, which shows more originality and independence.

In the introduction to the *De Haeresibus* Father Müller treats us to an interesting discussion of the identity of the deacon Quodvultdeus to whom the book is addressed. He also gives considerable attention to the relationship between Augustine's description of the 88 heresies listed and his two admitted sources, namely, Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, and Filastrius of Brescia, and to the important question of whether Augustine knew Epiphanius in a Greek original or Latin translation. While Augustine undoubtedly improved his knowledge of Greek as he grew older, he never really became competent in it. Neither Epiphanius nor Filastrius was really well informed on the heresies they describe, and Augustine is entirely dependent upon them except in the case of those heresies which he knew from personal experience, Manichaeism, Donatism, and Pelagianism. Even in these instances, more can be learned from other works of Augustine than from this.

Though the translations seem in general adequate, Father Müller can hardly be defended for rendering "*sancte fili Quodvultdeus*" (p. 54) as "My dear son, Quodvultdeus." Surely, *sanctus* must here mean "holy," as it does also in a reference to Jerome (p. 126) where *sanctum Hieronymum* comes out, anachronistically, as "St. Jerome." The honorific title "St." now connotes far more than Augustine could have cared to imply in referring to his distinguished contemporary. Great inconsistency is shown in translations of the names of the heresies, both in the initial list (pp. 60-63) and elsewhere. Some Latin suffixes are rendered by English suffixes, e.g., *Simoniani* becomes *Simonians*, while others are left as in Latin, e.g., *Secundiani*, but *Alogii* becomes *Alogi* and *Antidicomaritae* even *Antidicomarianites*. The *Nazaraei* in the list are rendered as *Nazarenes*, and so also in the discussion of this heresy, but in the commentary they appear as *Nasaraei* (p. 139). *Nicolaus* and *Nicholas* seem to be interchangeable (p. 137). In a reference to Lucifer of Cagliari (p. 114) the Latin word for the place name was allowed to stand as *Caralitano*, though it was rendered, doubtless correctly, as of *Calaris*, though nothing is said in the note about the discrepancy. Something has gone seriously wrong with the sentence beginning "The new discoveries . . ." (p. 160). A more serious deficiency occurs when we are told (p. 138, ch. 6, note 5) that "Augustine is not correct in ascribing the name and characteristics of this particular group [the Borborites] to all Gnostics," yet there is no citation of proof. This lack stems from Father Müller's general practice in the commentary: he cites the apposite paragraphs in Epiphanius and Filastrius, then cites the articles on the heresy in question in such standard encyclopaedias as the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* and the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. With only this general documentation we then get a résumé of what Father Müller learned from these sources but without specific references to the primary sources. The result is that we cannot control the evidence for any statement unless we consult the encyclopaedias ourselves. For W. Frend (p. 193) read W. H. C. Frend and add to this page a reference to G. G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London, 1950), which, however, is cited on p. 196 as by G. Willis. There are several misprints: *reconstruction* (p. 20), *Ascension* (p. 61), *Poltosky* for *Polotsky* (p. 167), *whiach* (p. 173), and *Rescherches* (p. 198), and somewhere in the middle of page 27 the end of a quotation

should have been indicated by the author.

Finally, it is difficult to see what could otherwise have been added to the voluminous commentaries in all five volumes. Indeed, it has sometimes seemed to this reviewer that the tendency to annotate has been carried to excessive limits, and that the commentary would have been improved, had it been leaner. I should not like, however, to end on a negative note. The five editors have provided us with useful additions to patristic literature.

GEORGE E. McCracken

Drake University

**Medieval Thought**, by GORDON LEFF. Pelican Books, 1958, Pp. 317.

MR. LEFF'S BOOK is a most welcome addition to the Pelican series of philosophy books. It is inexpensive in price and first-rate in content. In fact, it is the best short account of medieval philosophy available. *The Age of Belief*, edited by Anne Fremantle, has too brief texts and an inadequate commentary, and F. C. Copleston's *Medieval Philosophy* is by no means as satisfactory as Vols.

II and III of his larger *History of Philosophy*.

Especially good in Mr. Leff's rich yet compact treatment is his recognition of, and constant emphasis on, the great diversity of medieval thought. It is not enough remembered that despite a generally Christian intellectual context medieval philosophers range over the widest latitudes of method and opinion. There is not at all evident any inevitable rise to a culminating "Christian Philosophy"; there is no dominant "Christian synthesis" — although magnificent attempts were made by Bonaventure, Aquinas and Duns Scotus. But the problem (well stressed by Mr. Leff) of accommodating Greek necessitarianism to Christian contingency and freedom was in fact not finally overcome by medievals, and concluded unresolved in the radical separation of philosophy and theology found in Ockham and later 14th-century figures.

And thus the medieval period has great variety and depth of philosophical insight, as Leff acutely indicates. Perhaps the best passages of the book are those where he strongly puts forward his own interpretations — particularly in connection with the 14th century, his own special interest. Elsewhere, occasionally, one is faced with

## Summer 1959

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Professor Herbert W. Benario,  
Department of Classics,  
Sweet Briar College,  
Sweet Briar, Virginia, U.S.A.

a catalogue of ships—a seemingly perfunctory accounting of names, dates and ideas—but this may be unavoidable in a comprehensive treatment of this kind.

Several cavils might be made on questions of emphasis, but one point seems important enough to be raised here. That is Mr. Leff's designation of most medieval speculation as "Christian Philosophy," meaning, as he himself often says (in the Introduction, for example, or on p. 212), that rational inquiry was closely guided by, at the service of, and even dictated by Christian doctrine. This may well be true in the case of Augustine, Anselm and Bonaventure—all in agreement methodologically—although their results are not so much "Christian philosophy" as "Christian philosophico-theology." But Aquinas, to take but one example, would certainly not want to put the matter in such a way. He would strongly argue, I think, that philosophy is philosophy, coherent and standing by itself, not needing faith to be guaranteed or completed. If philosophy appears to conflict with faith, it may well be in error; but it finds itself its own correction. This is an important emphasis: faith may exercise veto power, in some sense, but it

definitely does not exercise immediate control and guidance. And even this statement of the case is too crude; truth is ultimately one, in part accessible by reason and in part by faith; but reason's shortcomings are notorious, and it may have to investigate further when inadequate. Aquinas intends, in sum, to maintain the roads to truth in autonomous, although matching and dovetailing, status. Whether he actually succeeds is a vital historical matter, but at least his desire must be significantly distinguished, in advance, from his performance.

STUART MACCLINTOCK

Indiana University

**Roman Readings**, edited by MICHAEL GRANT.  
A Pelican Book, 1958. Pp. ix, 464. \$95.

THE TITLE of the new Pelican anthology of Latin literature is most apt: *Roman Readings*. By not trying to be too compendious, the editor avoids, at least partially, the fault of many anthologies (such as the recent Penguin anthologies of Elizabethan and Jacobean prose) in which snippets of

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one or two pages must represent first-rate and complex minds. Mr. Grant has here included fewer authors and thus gives more space to each. Still, 464 pages cannot possibly do justice to Roman grandeur; the selections are all good, but they are selections and excerpts only; that *copia* is lacking which would give massive reinforcement to their promise. For example, thirty pages are allotted to Cicero. Can one from this space, no matter how cleverly filled, gain any adequate conception of Cicero's variety, or his capacity for development or rhetoric? Mr. Grant's volume starts with Plautus and concludes with what he calls "The North Africans," Apuleius, Tertullian and Augustine. He includes both poetry and prose. Obviously he cannot be fair to any one of his authors—the reader finds excerpts of from one to eight pages, totaling as high as fifty pages, for any given author (there are twenty-five authors in all). The choices are all good, that is, they are designed to be representative of Roman qualities and yet interesting to a modern reader. I question, however, whether an average of eighteen pages can express much to a reader not already versed in the literature. One needs to read at least two hundred pages of a major author before one can hope to understand how his mind works.

The translations are, according to the editor, supposed to "reproduce, within the limits imposed by the change of language, the spirit of their originals" (General Introduction, p. vii). This vague criterion does not have much practical significance: the translators range from Sir Philip Sidney to Ronald Knox, from John Dryden to C. Day Lewis, from William Melmoth to Robert Graves. The variety, however, is one of the strong points of the anthology. For example, half of the Lucan selections are taken from Nicholas Rowe's eighteenth-century translation in heroic couplets, half from Robert Graves' modern prose version. He who reads them both has a chance to see his author from different viewpoints and perhaps by a comparison to select common traits which are inherent in the original.

The variety of translators is also in line with the introductory sections for each author, for which the book jacket makes too pretentious a claim: "Translations in prose and verse from Latin literature with introductions to the principal ancient authors and appreciations of their influence on European thought." After allowing for the rhetoric of blurbs, one finds a brief biographical notice and then a listing of the critical opinions of major European au-

thors from the Renaissance on, done in epigrammatic form. Although sketchy, the run-down is fascinating and makes a reader wish to read the translations in order to test the validity of the opinions. Also, one is reminded by the roll-call of great names of the close contact between the Classics and English literature, a reminder that must be constantly freshened, especially in our century.

The anthology is bright and charming, obviously the work of a man of taste. (Mr. Grant has made many of the translations himself; he is also the translator of the Penguin Tacitus and the author of a popular history of Latin literature.) While it is perhaps petty to carp at details in the face of so much charm, I do note that he has ascribed a translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* to George Turberville; it was Mantuan that Turberville translated. There is a very brief introduction, a list of significant dates, a brief bibliography of standard works, and an index to the sources. This last is needed, for the text itself does not specify from what work each selection was taken.

JOHN CROSSETT

Hamilton College

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

COME to the Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting of CAMWS, in Milwaukee, April 2-4.

CAMWS PRESIDENT OSCAR NYBAKKEN has appointed a standing Committee on Merit. Its first action is to regularize as a tradition the recent practice at the annual dinner of presenting *ovationes* of distinguished persons, usually *seniores* of CAMWS and often such *seniores* belonging to the general locale of the meeting; on occasion, this honor has been accorded persons outside the Association. It has also been agreed that these *ovationes* should receive public notice through publication in *CJ*.

Professor KORFMACHER, chairman of the Committee, invites readers of *CJ*, especially those who are members of CAMWS, to suggest one or more candidates to any member of the Committee. The general policy is that names presented be those of persons who have achieved long and distinguished service in the classical cause.

The Committee on Merit includes: H. R. Butts, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham 4, Ala.; Mrs. Lois Larson, 519 Fairview Ave., Elmhurst, Ill.; Miss Edith Ko-



vach, 2400 Edison Ave., Detroit 6, Mich.; John N. Hough, 8E Hellems Building, University of Colorado, Boulder; William C. Korfmaier, St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Mo.

THE CALIFORNIA JCL will hold its annual state convention at the Edison High School in Stockton on Saturday, March 14, under the leadership of State Chairman, Mrs. Lura Gray of Gardena High School. The league offices are held this year by students of Leusinger (Inglewood), Gardena and Washington High Schools (L.A.).

At the request of the League, Governor Knight proclaimed last October 13-17 as Latin Week, encouraging Latin students to emphasize the value of studying Latin through their activities particularly during that week.

ROCKFORD COLLEGE, Illinois, is offering to a freshman entering in September, 1959, a Latin Scholarship of \$1,000 (\$500 for each of two years). The award will go to the applicant ranking highest in the Latin Achievement Test of the College Entrance Examination Board, and is open to both men and women. Applications should be

filed by March 1. Interested candidates are asked to write to the Director of Admission for further information.

THE UNIVERSITY of Alberta in cooperation with the Canadian Linguistic Association will conduct a second Summer School of Linguistics, July 6-August 14. A considerably expanded program of courses, all of which carry University credit, will be offered in general linguistics and in the linguistics of particular languages.

Prospective Canadian participants are eligible to apply for financial assistance to the Canada Council, 140 Wellington St., Ottawa. United States citizens and other non-Canadians should direct their inquiries regarding financial aid to the American Council of Learned Societies, 345 E. 46th St., New York 17. Also, a limited number of small grants will be made available by the Canadian Linguistic Association; inquiries should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. W. S. Avis, Royal Military College, Kingston, Ontario.

All inquiries concerning the 1959 Summer School should be directed to Dr. Ernest Reinhold, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

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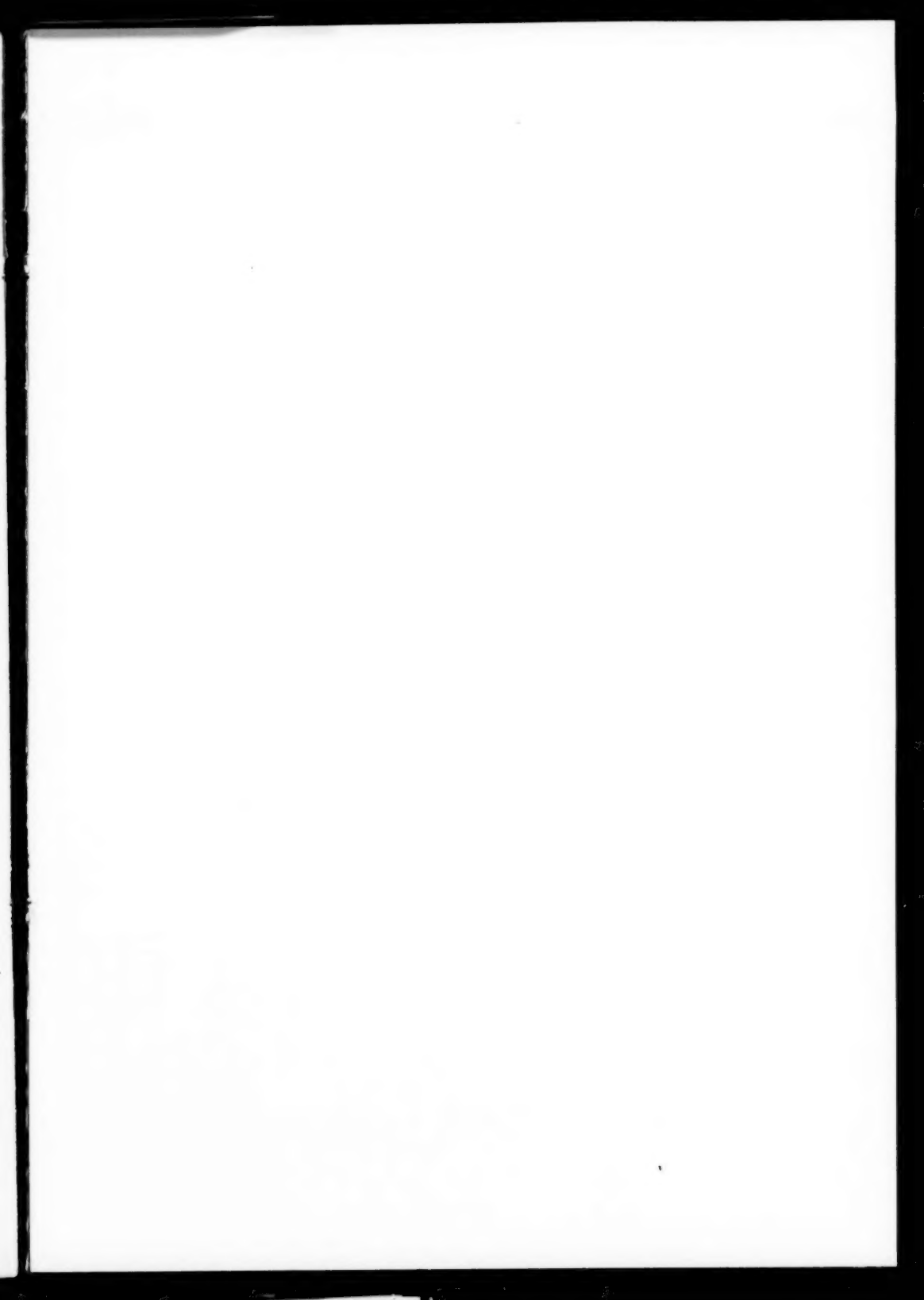
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